

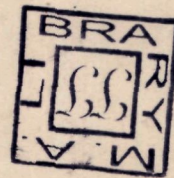
THESIS SECTION

**A HISTORICAL GRAMMAR
OF
URDU OF NORTH INDIA
(1600-1810 A.D.)
(ABSTRACT)**



THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN LINGUISTICS TO
THE ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH

44



BY
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ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH

1975

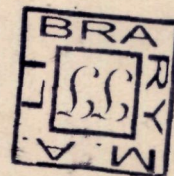
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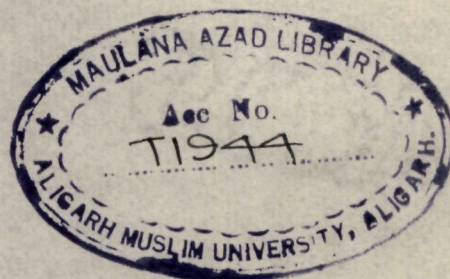
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C O N T E N T S

CHAPTER	PAGE
PART I: INTRODUCTION	1
1. Origin of Urdu	1
2. Urdu Language in its History	1
3. Dialects influencing Urdu	5
4. Vocabulary of Urdu	5
5. Development of Urdu Orthography	6
PART II: PHONOLOGY	7
6. Phonological System of Urdu	7
7. Sources of Urdu Sounds	8
8. Phonological Changes	8
9. Free or Nondistinctive Variants	9
PART III: MORPHOLOGY	10
10. Formation of Words by Affixes	10
11. Formation of Compound Words	10
12. Nouns	10
13. Adjectives	12
14. Pronouns	12
15. Verbs	13
16. Indeclinables	14
A NOTE ON SYNTAX	15

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

ORIGIN OF URDU

Urdu is one of the New Indo-Aryan Languages of India. It emerged from Śaurseni Apabhraṃśa under the influence of the dialects spoken in and around Delhi at the end of the 12th century A.D. (1193), when the Muslims entered Delhi from the Punjab. From the linguistic point of view this was one of the most important political incidents in the history of India.

The people who migrated from the Punjab to Delhi at 1193 A.D. brought at least four languages with them, viz., Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Panjabi. As the result of the contact between the new comers and the local masses there evolved a mixed form of speech known as Rekhta. The same language came to be known as Hindi, Hindwi, Zabān-e-Hindustan, Zabān-e-Dehlwi, Zabān-e-Urdu-e-Mualla, Zabān-e-Urdu, Dakni etc., during the course of its history. Apart from being current in and around Delhi it was carried to the different parts of the country by army personnels, court officials, traders and mainly by the Sufis. Urdu developed to its full length in Qutb Shahi, Adil Shahi, Nizam Shahi and Imad Shahi kingdoms of the Deccan. It remained almost a neglected language for a long period of time in the north.

CHAPTER 2

URDU LANGUAGE IN ITS HISTORY

The historical development of Urdu may be conveniently divided into the following periods:

1. Pre-Urdu Period (1000-1200 A.D.) :-

By 1000 A.D. the late MIA (Apabhramsa) stage came to an end and the process of the development of the MIA languages started in the North. The form of language which developed during 1000-1200 A.D. in North India, especially in courts of the Rajput Kings, before the Muslim conquest of Delhi is termed as Pre-Urdu. The language of this period is deeply influenced by the linguistic traditions of Late Apabhramsa (Avahattha). We may call this language as the "immediate predecessor" or the "ancestor" of Urdu. The important specimens of the language of the Pre-Muslim period can be seen in the longish poems of these days known as Rāses written in the forms Dingala and Pingala by the poets like Harpati Nalha, Chandra Bradaī, Surajmal etc.

Among the Muslims, Masud Sa'd Salman (d. sometimes between 1125 and 1130 A.D.) was the first author who besides writing in Turkish, Arabic and Persian also wrote in "Hindui" (Urdu). But the specimen of his Hindi poetry is not available today.

2. Old Urdu Period (1200-1700 A.D.) :-

The emergence of Urdu as a distinct language took place only after 1193 A.D., the year of the Muslim conquest of Delhi. A century later the same language was carried to the

Deccan where it developed independently till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. The literature produced during the period 1200-1700 A.D. in North Indian and in the Deccan forms the study of Old Urdu. The early Old Urdu period is quite barren. Unfortunately there are no connected specimens of the language that developed in Northern India during the 13th, 14th 15th and 16th centuries whereas the same language produced a vast amount of literature when it developed in the Deccan during these centuries. The early traces of Urdu in Northern India can be found in the words and phrases uttered by the Muslim Sufis.

Amir Khusräu (1253-1325) is the first major poet of early Urdu (Hindi) who wrote his poems and riddles in Zabân-e-Delhi (Delhi-speech). But the authenticity of his works is much doubted. Some of the specimens of Old Urdu can also be found in words and phrases scattered in the Persian works on history written during the period.

It is in the beginning of the 17th century that Urdu received any genuine cultivation in the North. Afzal's Bikat Kabani, Raushan Ali's Ashur Nama, Ismail Anrohi's Do Qadim Masnaviyan and Marsiya-e-Rekhta written by the different poets of North India like Salah, Qurban Ali, Qasim etc. form the important specimens of Old Urdu.

3. Middle Urdu Period (1700-1800 A.D.):—

After the death of Aurangzeb there established a deep contact between the south and the north and Urdu which had

in the Deccan quite a flourishing literary career for many centuries merged into Northern Urdu. Wali's visit to Delhi and the subsequent arrival of his Diwan there marks the beginning of the literary revolution in the North. The Middle Urdu period is divided into early MU and late MU.

(a) Early Middle Urdu (1700-1750 A.D.) :-

Wali's visit to Delhi had a profound effect on the literary atmosphere of this city. The contemporary poets who were primarily writing in Persian also began to write in Urdu. Besides them in the early part of the 18th century we come across with the poets like Jafar Zataali, (Kulliyat-e-Jafar Zataali) Faiz (Diwan-e-Faiz), Fasil (Karbal Katha), Iswi Khan Bahadar (Diwan-e-Mehraiz-e-Dilbar) etc.

Apart from these writers, there appeared during the same period another group of poets known as Ihania or poets of the Ihan school. This school is represented by the poets like Abru, Masnun, Naji, Yakrang, Fughan, Hatim etc.

Due to the endeavour of these poets the process of the purification of Urdu started and continued till the age of Nasikh of Lucknow. Deccani and Braj Bhasha elements were discarded and purely Hindi words in origin like nayan, nit jag etc. were disused. There was also a reaction in favour of Persian and Persian spellings.

(b) Late Middle Urdu (1750-1800 A.D.) :-

During the second half of the 18th century there appeared another group of poets. By this time a marked historical change had taken place in the structure of the Urdu language.

It had passed through the formative or old stage to the early and late middle stages and was ushering in, by 1800 A.D. the modern stage of the language. This period is mostly represented by the poets like Mir, Sauda, Dard, Naz, Mir Hasan etc.

CHAPTER 3

DIALECTS INFLUENCING URDU

Urdu, during the course of its development, has been influenced mainly by three dialects, viz., Haryani, Khari Boli and Braj Bhasa. They influenced Urdu in different times and in different situations. At the time of the evolution of Urdu these dialects were spoken in and around Delhi. Of the dialects of Delhi area, Haryani is the one which has deeply influenced Urdu in its initial and formative stage. Besides Haryani, the dialect by which Urdu was influenced in the beginning is Braj Bhasa. Modern Urdu is standardised on the basis of Khari Boli. Mewati is also one of the important dialects of Delhi area and in certain respect it has also influenced the Urdu language.

CHAPTER 4

VOCABULARY OF URDU

As the basic structure of Urdu is purely Indo-Aryan, its vocabulary is also largely of Indo-Aryan origin. But during the course of its development, Urdu also borrowed a considerable amount of its vocabulary from Persian and Arabic. The Perso-Arabic words form an important part of the Urdu vocabulary. Through Persian, Urdu also borrowed words from Turkish which




was once the language of the ruling class in India.

The words in Urdu according to their sources can be classified into Taisama, Tadbhava, Desi, Perso-Arabic and Turkish.

CHAPTER 5

DEVELOPMENT OF URDU ORTHOGRAPHY

The Urdu orthography is an adaptation of the Persian script which is the extended form of the Arabic script. In Iran and India the Arabic script underwent various changes and modifications during the course of the last one thousand years. In course of the time certain reforms, additions and modifications were made in India in the Perso-Arabic script. Urdu in the course of its development adopted 14 pure Indian (Hindi) sounds, mostly aspirated and a few of them retroflex. To represent 3 unaspirated retroflex sounds, three new letters

ت (te), ڈ (dal) and ڙ (re) were added to the Perso-Arabic alphabets. Out of 14 Hindi sounds, 11 are aspirates. They are represented in Urdu by the letter ہ (do caśmī 'he') plus the preceding letters representing the consonants. Such sounds are represented as , , , etc.

The Old Urdu orthography is characterised with instability. Throughout this period the spelling does not obey hard and fast rules. It is due to this absence of stable orthography that the exact pronunciation of certain words could not be ascertained.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER 6

PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF URDU

Urdu has inherited from OIA through MIA almost all its vowels and a large number of consonants. It has also borrowed many sounds from Persian and Arabic such as /f z ʒ g q/. Besides them, Urdu, during the course of its development, developed some of its own sounds like /r, rh/.

Urdu has altogether 48 phonemes: 38 consonants including two semi-vowels, 8 vowels, one juncture phoneme and one phoneme of nasalization. So far as the sources of consonants are concerned, Urdu comprises consonants of pure Indian, pure Persian and pure Arabic origin. Urdu has also Indic and Persian, Indic and Arabic and Persian and Arabic consonants combined. Urdu has also the consonants which are common in Indic, Persian and Arabic.

With few exceptions, all the Urdu phonemes occur initially, medially and finally. They also contrast minimally in monosyllabic words. Vowels also occur in monosyllabic and disyllabic sequences. Nasalization of vowels in Urdu is phonemic. It occurs with all vowels though not in all positions. Juncture is also phonemic in Urdu.

The consonant clusters in Urdu mainly consist of two consonants which occur initially, intervocally and finally. The initial clusters are quite rare in Urdu. All unaspirated

consonants occur in Urdu geminated except /ñ ʒ x g/.
 Geminates mostly occur intervocally and after short vowels,
 e.g. /pattā/ 'leaf' (AN-70), /mittī/ 'soil' (AN-123) etc.

Syllables in Urdu consist of the following structures -
 V, VC, CV, CVC and VCC. Examples are /ā/ 'come' (imp.)
 (DF-196), /āj/ 'today' (DA-102), /do/ 'two' (AK-79), /rat/
 'night' (KS-126) and /īśq/ 'love' (BK-59),

CHAPTER 7

SOURCES OF URDU SOUNDS

The Urdu sounds can be traced back to MIA and OIA through Prakrit and Sanskrit. Certain important sounds have also come from Persian and Arabic through the process of borrowing. Besides these sources, a few sounds can also be traced back to non-Indo-Aryan or native sources which we call Desi.

CHAPTER 8

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

Phonological changes which took place in Urdu are of various types, such as (1) The loss of final vowels, e.g. āth < MIA attha < OIA asta 'eight', (2) Aphaeresis which is the elision of initial vowel, e.g.

bhītar (AN-37) < OIA abhyantara 'inside', (3) Anaptyxis, the insertion of vowel between the two consonants, e.g., ītan (BK-32) < OIA yatna 'effort' (4) Prothesis, e.g. ānān (DF-238) <

anān 'bath' (5) Lengthening of vowel, e.g. āi (DF-234)

OIA adya 'today' (6) Shortening of vowel, e.g. acra
(DA-120) < OIA āścarya 'wonder' (7) Omission of inter-
consonantal vowels, e.g. gifi (AH-35) Ar. gifat 'attribute'
(8) In Sanskrit the sound /r/ was counted as vowel but
disappeared in Prakrit. In Urdu it changed into /ri/, e.g.
/i/, /u/ and /a/ . e.g. pih < MIA piṭṭha < OIA pratha
'back' etc. (9) Nasalisation of vowels, e.g. dat (DF-239)

OIA danta 'tooth'.

Consonantal changes which took place in Urdu are
aspiration and deaspiration, voicing, different types of
interchanges of consonants, changes of OIA consonant cluster
etc.

CHAPTER 9

FREE OR NONDISTINCTIVE VARIANTS

In Old and Middle Urdu, when the language was in the
developing stage the two or more pronunciations of the same
word were very common. During this period we find a number
of words which were pronounced in different ways. Since
one form is used for the other, the free or non-distinctive
variants do not result in any differences of meaning. Of the
two or more forms, one is supposed to be the original or the
oldest and other to have developed or derived from it. In
OU and MU periods people had picked up the variants like
bars /baras 'year', nīd /nīḍ, bādar/bādal, setī /se/ etc.

M O R P H O L O G Y
CHAPTER 10
FORMATION OF WORDS BY AFFIXES

A large number of words in Urdu are formed by appending affixes to verbal roots, nouns and other verbs. Old and Middle Urdu affixes have mainly developed from the following sources: Sanskrit or OIA, Prakrit and MIA, Persian and Arabic. A small number of affixes also come from the Turkish language. Affixes which belong to Sanskrit are known as tatsama and those belonging to Prakrit are known as tadbhava. Affixes in Urdu are mainly of two types - prefixes and suffixes.

CHAPTER 11
FORMATION OF COMPOUND WORDS

Compound words are tatsama as well as tadbhava. Tatsamas are Sanskrit compounds and are quite rare in Urdu. Urdu is very rich in tadbhava compounds. Besides them, a large number of compounds come from Perso-Arabic sources mainly from Persian. A few compounds may be treated as hybrid compound in which one component is tadbhava and the other a Perso-Arabic word. Compounds are of mainly three types, viz., Copulative, Determinative and Attributive

CHAPTER 12

NOUNS

Stems in OU and AU and either in vowels or in consonants. Stems ending in consonants do not end in /ph/, /dh/ and /z/. Stems ending in semi-vowels are also very rare in Urdu. Stems ending in vowels generally end in long vowels.

In Urdu there are only two genders masculine and feminine. OIA (Sanskrit) had three genders -- masculine, feminine and neuter. These genders were also recognised in MIA period. The neuter gender gradually disappeared in Apabhraṃśa. It is not only that nouns are masculine and feminine but the distinction of gender is also made in adjectives, pronouns, genitives, verbs and auxiliaries. In Urdu gender is natural as well ^{as} grammatical.

The number in Urdu has developed from the two main sources, viz., Indo-Aryan and Perso-Arabic. In OIA there were three numbers - singular, dual and plural. The dual number of Sanskrit disappeared in the beginning of the MIA period. The dual number also exists in Arabic but it was not adopted by Urdu during the course of its development. In Urdu we come across with words like imāmain 'Hasan and Husain' lit. 'the two Imāms' (AM-56) ending in -ain 'dual marker.' Such words are quite few in number and have no organic connection with the language. The plural terminations of OU and MU in direct, oblique and vocative cases are given below:

Direct case - β , -e, -ē, -ā and ~ .

Oblique case - ō, -ā and van. Vocative case - -o, ā

In OIA there were eight cases, but in OU and MU they were reduced to only three cases, namely direct, oblique and vocative. A noun in oblique case is used with certain particles which are placed after it hence called postpositions. The noun in direct case is used with postposition. The vocative case also takes no postposition.

CHAPTER 13

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives may be classified into qualitative, pronominal and numeral. An adjective generally precedes the noun it qualifies but OU and eMU this rule is not followed strictly. The adjective ending in -ā remains unchanged when the noun qualified is masculine and forms the direct singular. In all other cases such adjective are declined according to certain rules. Adjectives in OU and MU undergo no change of form to express the comparative and superlative degrees. The intensity is given to an adjective either by prefixing barā, bahut or nihāyat or by adding sā (sī, se), or by repeating the same adjective, e.g. bahut ālīśān 'very magnificent', thorā sā 'very little' etc.

CHAPTER 14

PRONOUNS

All the pronouns in Urdu are derived from Sanskrit through Prakrit. In Sanskrit, like nouns, pronouns had also eight cases declining for singular, dual and plural. The number of these cases and their forms were considerably reduced in all NIA languages. As a result of which in OU and MU we have only four cases of pronouns, viz. direct, oblique, accusative and genitive in singular and plural. Genitives

are found only in the reflexive and personal pronouns of the first and second persons where they decline for gender and number. Such pronouns are called possessive pronouns. They can also function as possessive adjectives.

The peculiar personal pronouns in OU are haĩ, haman, mā, merī, hamna tãĩ, tuman, tumna, thara etc.

CHAPTER 15

VERBS

Verbs in Urdu have undergone greater changes than nouns or any other part of speech. The introduction of gender is a unique feature in Urdu verb. Gender in verb is neither found in Sanskrit nor in Persian. Roots in Urdu are mostly monosyllabic consisting of a consonant plus vowel (CV), e.g. gā, lā, khā etc. or of a vowel plus consonant (VC), e.g. uĩ, uĩh etc. Roots in Urdu are classified into primary and secondary roots. Primary roots are tadbhava, tatsama, semi-tatsama and Desi. Secondary roots are formed by reduplication or with an added syllable. Such roots are classified into causative denominative and onomatopoeic roots.

Infinitive in Urdu are formed by -ā or -yā, e.g. jānā 'to go' gāynā 'to sing' etc. The noun of agency is formed by adding yālā to the inflected infinitive. yālā declines to agree with number and gender. The imperfect participle is formed by adding to the root the termination tā, e.g. bolā

'speaking' and the perfect participle is formed by adding to the verbal root the termination a, e.g. mārā 'killed' etc. ta and -ā decline to agree with number and gender. Conjunctive participles which occur in OU and MU are kar, ka kar kar kar. The conjunctive particle mentioned in last is very rare.

Tenses in Urdu fall in three groups, viz., past, present and future. These are formed from the root of the verb and participles - perfect and imperfect. Verbs in Urdu are simple as well as compound. They have two genders - masculine and feminine, in singular and plural and three persons - first, second and third. Verbs are either transitive or intransitive. Transitive verbs have two voices, active and passive.

Auxiliaries are generally used to form different tenses in combination with participles. But they are also used alone to express the simple existence. There are a number of verbs which were commonly used in OU and e.U but fell in disuse in MU e.g. paraṇā 'to touch' (BK-41) paithnā 'to enter' (AK-180) ḡana 'to pull' 'to drag' (KK-20), ḡānā 'to steal' (KK-198) aprajnā 'to create' (QMD-205) etc.

CHAPTER 16

INDECLINABLES

Indeclinables are those which do not change their forms in number gender and case. Indeclinable; in OU and

MU are mainly tadbhava but a few of them also come from Persian and Arabic. Under indeclinables we include adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, interjections and emphatic forms.

A NOTE ON SYNTAX

Urdu of North India, unfortunately, lacks in the specimens of prose. Right from the beginning till the end of the Old Urdu period (1700 A.D.) we have not found even a single piece of prose in Urdu in the whole of Northern India. The old literature of Urdu is entirely in the form of poetry which does not give the correct idea of syntactic constructions since poetry is characterized by the maximum freedom of order. Due to the lack of prose specimens in Old Urdu, nothing could be said precisely about the Urdu syntax of this period.

It is during the period of early Middle Urdu (1750-1750) that we find two prose works, viz., Karbal Katha (1732-1733) by Fazli and Qissa-e-Mehrafriz-e-Dilbar (1732-1739) By Is'ad Khan Bahadar. Karbal Katha is the first prose work ever written in North India, but it is the translation of the Persian work Rausat-ush-Shuhada by Mulla Husain Wais Kashifi. The Persian influence on Karbal Katha is very obvious. Prose work is also not available during the late Middle Urdu period (1750-1800) except a few translations.

- pukāriyā koī 'somebody called' (D.A-116)
 -āiyā 'came' (D.M-125)
 -kaī aurtē nakalyā 'may women came out' (KK-81)
 -xemō se bāhar bhāgiyā 'ran out of the tent' (KK-217)
 -galāikā cālīs din roe 'the angels wept for forty days' (KK-47)
 -maī lotho par girī 'I fell upon the dead bodies' (KK-217)
 -cār aurtē āī 'four women came' (KK-228)
 -ham āe 'we came' (KK-216)
 -rātē āiyā 'nights came' (KK-216)
 -na kabhū un ne dekhyā 'he never saw (this)' (KK-221)
 -un ne yak harf bhī likhā na kabhū 'he never wrote even a single letter' (KK-218)
 -khilī kaliyā 'the buds blossomed' (KS-258)

2. The Present Perfect

This tense is formed by adding the present auxiliaries to the perfect participle.

Terminations:-

	<u>SA</u>	<u>PL</u>
Ist pers.		
mas.	-ā hū	-e hai
fec.	-ī hū	-ī (-ī/iyā) hai

	Eg.	Pl.
2nd pers.		
mas.	-ā hai	-e ho
fem	-ī hai	-ī ho
3rd pers.		
mas.	-ā hai	-e hai
fem.	-ī hai	-ī (-ī/ -iyā) hai

Occurrences:-

-hoī yeh dekhā hai xāb 'I have seen this dream' (AN-40)

-bulāyā hai tum ko 'has invited you' (AN-74)

-hāth tare jo dekhī hai talvār 'the sword I have seen
in your (sg.) hand' (DF-217)

-jab se mai ne tujhe pichānā hai 'since I have known
you' (DF-219)

-paigām bhejā hai 'has sent message' (KK-53)

-kahā se āe ho 'where have you come from'? (QMD-25)

-apnī ākhē chupāliyā hai 'have covered their eyes'
(KM-560)

-ab pārsā hae hai 'now (we) have become pious' (KM-812)

-mai yeh hār lāyā hū 'I have brought this garland'
(KM-214)

3. The Past Perfect

This tense is formed by adding the past auxiliaries to the perfect participle.

Terminations:-

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
1st pers.		
mas.	-ā thā	-e the
fem.	-ī thī	-ī (-ī) thī
2nd pers.		
mas.	-ā thā	-e the
fem.	-ī thī	-ī (-ī) thī
3rd pers.		
mas.	-ā thā	-e the
fem.	-ī thī	-ī (-ī) thī

Occurrence:-

-parhā thā kitābō mē 'had read in books' (AN-187)

-tuman pās faiz āyā thā 'Faiz had come to you' (DF-199)

-ham abhī dādā kī qabr par na pahūce the 'we had not yet reached the grandfather's grave (KK-78)

-camki thi 'had flashed' (KK-158)

-unho ne kadam nahi dekhe the 'they had never seen
(QND-19)

-usko kya huva tha 'what had happened to him?' (KK-153)

-mujh se mile the '(you) had met me' (DF-118)

4. The Future Perfect

This tense is formed by adding the absolute future of the verb hona 'to be or become' to the perfect participle.

Terminations:-

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
1st pers.		
mas.	-ā hūgā	-e hōge
fem.	-ī hūgī	-ī hōgī
2nd pers.		
mas.	-ā hogā	-e hōge
fem.	-ī hogī	-ī hōgī
3rd pers.		
mas.	-ā hogā	-e hōge
fem.	-ī hogī	-ī hōgī

Occurrence:-

-aisā na huwā hogā 'such would not have happened
(KF-126)

-paidā na huwā hogā 'would have not born' (KF-126)

-guncā koī khilā hogā 'some bud would have blossomed
(DD-111)

-na sunā hogā '(he) might not have heard' (DD-110)

Note: Like future imperfect, the future perfect tense is also not in common use in the texts analysed.

15.9 Active and Passive

(a) In Urdu a verb may be in active or passive voice. Only transitive verbs are generally used as passive. The tenses which are formed in active voice may also be formed in passive voice by adding the tenses of the verb jānā 'to go' to the perfect participle of a transitive verb.

The participle and terminations affixed to it are inflected in passive to agree with the number and gender of the grammatical subject. In the use of a passive verb the subject is put in the Instrumental case and the object of the active verb becomes the subject.

Examples:-

-māre gae husain-o-hasan 'Hasan and Husain were killed
(Sl., KR)

-vis kā guṇah nabaxsā gayā 'his sin was not forgiven'
(QMD-266)

-yeh nagar sau martabā lūtā gayā, 'this city was looted
a hundred times (KM-126)

-mere jī se bhulāyā na gayā 'he was not forgotten by
my heart' (KM-131)

-ek nim-jā mārā gayā 'a half-dead was killed' (KM-135)

(b) Sometimes the tenses of the verb jānā are added to the perfect participle of an intransitive verb as, e.g. ānā 'to come', hāyā na gayā (KM-132), jānā 'to go' jāyā na gayā (KM-131) etc. But these forms are used only with negative and gauṇā here gives the meaning of 'can'.⁴⁵

(c) The tenses of the verb jānā added to the verbal root do not form the passive, e.g.

-baman sab mar gae 'all the Brahmins passed away
(BK-39)

-mañ so gāi 'I fell asleep' (BK-63)

-khā gayā 'ate up' (DD-115)

-jhar gae hañ 'have fallen away' (QMD-79)

-ā jātā hū 'I came over' (KM-810)

Origins The form with jānā used in passive is derived from Prakrit. The passive in Prakrit was formed by adding -iija to the verbal root. In Sanskrit the passive affix was ya, e.g. śalāghyate 'it is praised'.⁴⁶

45. Abd-ul-Haq, Urdu Sawaid pp.141-42.

46. S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 351.

15.10 Formation of Causal Verbs

Causal verbs may be formed from almost every verb whether transitive or intransitive. The causals formed from the intransitive verbs become transitive and these formed from the transitive verbs become doubly transitive. Causals are of two types: The first causal and the second or the double causal.

15.10.1 The First Causal

To form the first causal -ā is ad ed to the simple verbal root known as "primitive root." Examples are:-

PRIMITIVE VERB	FIRST CAUSAL
(a) uthnā 'to rise'	uthānā 'to raise' (KK-224)
sunnā 'to hear'	sunānā 'to tell' (KK-270)
daurnā 'to run'	daurānā 'to cause to run' (KK-124)
larnā 'to fight'	larānā 'to cause to fight' (SID-169)
chuppā 'to be hidden'	chupānā 'to hid' (KK-147)
baithnā 'to sit down'	bithānā 'to seat' (SB-61)
(b) dekhnā 'to see'	dikhānā 'to show' (KK-283)
sonā 'to sleep'	sulānā 'to put to sleep' (KK-190)

khānā 'to eat'	khilānā 'to feed' (KK-193)
tūtnā 'to be broken'	tornā 'to break' (KK-211)
barasnā 'to rain'	barsānā 'to cause o rain' (MD-206)
pīnā 'to drink'	pilānā 'to give to drink' (SB-58)
khulnā 'to be opened'	kholnā 'to open' (SB-73)

15.10.2 The Second or the Double Causal

It is formed by adding -vā to the primitive root, eg.

PRIMITIVE VERB	FIRST CAUSAL	SECOND CAUSAL
(a) katnā 'to be cut'	kātnā 'to cut'	katvānā 'to cause to cut' (KK-138)
bujhnā 'to be extinguished'	bujhānā 'to extinguish'	bujhvānā 'to cause to ext- inguish' (AN-48)
bādhnā 'to be fastened'	bādhnā 'to fasten'	bādhvānā 'to cause to fasten' (KK-257)
dhulnā 'to be washed'	dhonā 'to wash'	dhulvānā 'to cause to wash' (QD-77)
(b) khānā 'to eat'	khilānā 'to feed'	khilvānā 'to cause to feed' (AN-48)

15.11 Compound Verbs

Compound verbs may be formed with roots, participles, infinitives and aorists. They are also formed with nouns and adjectives. Such compounds are known as nominal compounds.

15.11.1 Compounds formed with the Roots

(a) Intensives

uthā lānā 'to bring up'

-uthā lāī kūzā 'she brought the pot up' (AN-62)

gir parnā 'to fall down'

-ghore se voh gir parā 'he fell down from the horse'

(AN-104)

jā milnā 'to join oneself'

-shahīdō se voh jā milā 'he join himself to the martyres'

(AN-108)

uth calnā 'to set off'

-tab uth calā 'then he set off' (AN-187)

bhūl jānā 'to forget'

-jātī thī bhūl 'she used to forget' (DF-242)

kat dālnā 'to cut off'

-dostī kā nihāl dālā kāt 'he cut off the sapling of friendship' (DSN-79)

ched dālā 'to perforate through'

-sab ke sīne ko ched dālā hai 'has perforated everybody's chest (DF-213)

nikal jānā 'to come out'

-ākhīyō kī rāh merā jī nikal gayā 'my soul came out through the eyes (DA-45)

ā jānā 'to come over suddenly' 'to arrive'

-bāg me ājā 'come over in the garden' (DBH-37)

kho denā 'to lose'

-justjū ne terī mujh ko kho diyā 'I was lost by your search' (KE-149)

khā jānā 'to eat up'

-jigar ko mere khā gai 'she ate my liver up' (KE-259)

has parna 'to laugh out'

-sab hās pare 'all laughed out' (SB-32)

(b) Potentials

uth saknā 'to be able to rise'

-behoś huī aur na uth sakī 'she became senseless and could not rise' (KK-124)

ro sakna 'to be able to weep'

-khol ke dil mai na ro sakā 'I could not weep open heartedly' (DD-111)

bujhā saknā 'to be able to put out' 'to extinguish'

-yeh āg voh nahī jise pānī bujhā sake 'this is not
the type of fire which could be extinguished by
fire (DD-166)

pā saknā 'to be able to win', lit. 'to be able to attain'

-bāzī agar oḥ pā na sakā 'if he could not win the game
(KD-225)

bhulā saknā 'to be able to forget'

-agar tū bhulā sake 'if you (sg.) could forget (DD-165)

(e) Completives

ro cuknā 'to have done weeping'

-ro cukā thā 'had done weeping (K-152)

khā cuknā 'to have done eating'

-ham khā cuke 'we have done eating' (K-476)

15.11.2 Compounds formed with the Imperfect participle

(a) Continuatives

satāte rahnā 'to continue or go on to hurting'

-agar yū hī yeh dil sātā tā rahegā 'if this heart goes
on hurting like this' (DD-108)

chupāte rahnā 'to continue hiding'

-kahā tak gam apnā chupātā rahegā 'how long would you
continue hiding your grief?' (DD-108)

sanjhāte rahnā 'to keep admonishing'

-mai usko sanjhātā rahā 'I kept him admonishing' (KM-520)

15.11.3 Compounds formed with the Perfect Participle

(a) Habitatives

diyā karnā 'to give frequently, 'to keep giving'

-mat hath mē in mastō ke talvār diyā kar 'don't keep giving sword in the hands of these drunks' (KM-397)

rahā karnā 'to keep staying'

-kisē ke rāt tū rahā mat kar 'don't keep staying at any one's residence at night (DF-201)

satāyā karnā 'to go on hurting'

-satāyā na karo 'don't go on hurting' (DF-206)

jalā karnā 'to keep burning'

-hamārī chātī har šab jalā kare hai 'my heart keeps burning every night' (KM-504)

milā karnā 'to meet frequently'

mujh se milā kare hai 'he meet me frequently (KM-504)

15.11.4 Compounds formed with the Infinitive

(a) Inceptives

kahne lagnā 'to begin to call'

-us ko sanam kahne lage 'we began to call him/her beloved' (DD-192)

sunāne lagnā 'to begin to tell'

-voh mujh ko sunāne lagā 'he began to tell me' (KM-362)

dikhāne lagnā 'to begin to show'

-voh mujh ko dikhāne lagā 'he began to show me' (KM-362)

phailāne lagnā 'to begin to spread'

-ab pāv phailāne lagā 'now (he) began to spread the
log (KM-519)

nācne lagnā 'to begin to dance'

-lage nācne us pe 'they began to dance on this' (SB-22)

palne lagnā 'to begin to be brought up'

-mahal mẽ lagā palne voh maunihāl 'that lad began to
be brought up in the palace' (SB-24)

(b) Permissives

girne denā 'to allow to fall'

-samī par na sāye ko girne diyā 'did not let the
shadow fall on the ground' (SB-5)

pāne denā 'to allow to get'

-fursat ham ko pāne de 'let me get the chance' (KM-574)

khāne denā 'to allow to eat'

-khāne de 'let (him) eat' (KM-574)

15.11.5 Compounds formed with the Aorist

(a) Continuatives

khāe jānā 'to keep or go on eating'

-jān ko koī khāe jātā hai 'somebody goes on eating
the soul' (KM-491)

jhukāe jānā 'to go on leaning'

-sar ko jhukāe jātā hai 'goes on leaning the head'
(KM-491)

15.11.6 Compounds formed with Nouns and Adjectives

(Nominal Compounds)

duhal bajānā 'to beat the kettle-drum'

-duhal rehlat kā bhādo ne bajāyā 'the month of Bhado
beat the kettle-drum of departure' (BK-40)

dūr bhāgnā 'to get away'

-mujh se dūr bhāgo 'get away from me' (BK-45)

dos denā 'to blame'

-apne karam ko dos dīje 'please blame your own deeds'
(BK-49)

hāth ānā 'to get', to obtain'

-āyā na kuch hāth 'nothing was obtained' (BK-49)

jafā karnā 'to oppress'

-mujh par jafā mat kar 'don't oppress me' (DP-201)

bāt karnā 'to talk'

-bāt kar ik sū ai saam mat kar 'O, beloved! don't
talk to everyone' (DF-202)

gulām karnā 'to enslave'

-āśiqō ko gulām karte hai 'they enslave the lovers'
(DF-205)

halāk honā 'to perish' 'to die'

-sab halāk huve 'all perished' (DF-216)

gārat karnā 'to plunder'

-mulk-e-dil gārat kiya 'plundered the kingdom of
heart' (Ar., JSI 188)

nazar ānā 'to be seen'

-nazar ātā nahī voh 'he is not to be seen' (Ms., JSI-207)

15.12 Obsolete Verbs

Following are the verbs which were commonly used in
OU and eNU but fell in disuse in lNU.

pirānā	'to give pain' (BK-31)
dagnā	'to burn' (BK-32)
jarnā	'burn' (BK-32)
bicārnā	'to think' (BK-32)
dhānā	'to attack' (BK-34)
kārnā	'to take out' (BK-40)
parasnā	'to touch' (BK-41)

lukānā	'to hide' (BK-41)
nikasnā	'to come out' (BK-43)
dahnā	'to set on fire' (BK-44)
pathānā	'to send' (BK-45)
chādnā	'to leave out' (BK-45)
tarphnā	'to writhe' (BK-46)
bihānā	'to change into morning' (BK-52)
pahirnā	'to put on' (BK-53)
bisārnā	'to forget' (BK-56)
barnā	'to burn' (BK-57)
bhajnā	'to chant' (BK-63)
būjhānā	'to understand' (AN-93)
halnā	'to swing' 'to wave' (AN-70)
chārnā	'to leave' (AN-110)
paithnā	'to enter' (AN-113)
ropnā	'to bring forth' (AN-180)
ēcnā	'to pull', 'to drag' (KK-20,62,75,82)
parcānā	'to make familiar' (KK-276)
palacnā	'to cling' (KK-78,161)
ghālnā	'to destroy' (KK-249)
mīsnā	'to steal' (KK-198)
talaphnā	'to flatter' (QMD-35)

lakhnā	'to be seen' (QMD-46)
kuhaknā	'to cackle' (QMD-47)
kārhnā	'to take out' (QMD-57)
nihurānā	'to bow' (QMD-71)
bācnā	'to 'read' (QMD-89)
taraqnā	'to crack' (QMD-108)
bhētnā	'to touch' (QMD-122)
barjnā	'to forbid' (QMD-147)
aghānā	'to satiate', to satisfied' (QMD-179)
dornā	'to swing' (QMD-196)
aprajnā	'to create' (QMD-205)
gabnā	'to catch' (QMD-205)
atkalnā	'to recognise' (QMD-270)

CHAPTER 16

INDECLINABLES

16.1 General Statement

Indeclinables are those which do not change their forms in gender, person or number. The forms like āī 'today', kal 'tomorrow', āge 'before', pīche 'behind', phir 'again' ihāt 'quickly' dūr 'far' nazdīk 'near' fauran 'immediately', ab 'now' jab 'when', yahā 'here', yahā 'there', se 'from' tak 'to', par 'on' aur 'and' etc. are all indeclinables and have one the same form every where.

Indeclinables in Old and Middle Urdu are mainly tadbhava but a good number of them also come ^{from} Persian and Arabic.

Under indeclinables we include adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions and interjections. Emphatic forms may also be included in indeclinables.

16.2 Adverbs

Adverbs, with reference to their origin, may be classified into nominal and pronominal and with reference to meaning into the categories of time, place, direction and manner. Besides them, adverbs are also of affirmation and negation.

Nominal adverbs are derived from nouns and adjectives whereas pronominal adverbs are formed from the pronominal bases

by means of certain affixes known as adverbial elements. A number of adverbs originally belong to Sanskrit and have descended through the medium of Prakrit.

16.2.1 Pronominal Adverbs

1. Time

(a) Proximate Demonstrative

ab 'now'

-ab sabar tum karo 'now please have patience' (AN-172)

-ab sīs merā judā yeh kerte 'now they cut my head'
(KK-116)

(b) Interrogative

kab 'when?'

-kab voh āyā 'when did he come?' (KK-458)

-bāg me kab khilī kalī aī 'when did such a bud blossom
in the garden' (DD-192)

(c) Relative

jab 'when'

-jab tuman pās fāiz āyā thā 'when Faiz had come to you'
(DF-199)

-jab gul khilī caman me 'when the flower blossomed in the
garden' (KM-378)

-khuilī ākh jab 'when (I) woke up', lit. 'when the eye
opened' (DD-105)

(d) Correlative

tab 'then'

-tab kahe 'he said then' (KK-113)

-tab muslim ne kahā 'then Muslim said' (KK-114)

The pronominal bases in these adverbs are a, ka, ja and ta, and -h which occurs in them finally is the adverbial element.

Origins: Beames and Kellogg derive the adverbial element -h from Sk. yela 'time'. It developed, according to Chatterji from the Vedic eva as follows: Ved. eva > Sk. evam > Pr. evvan > ebban > -h. Some scholars derive kah, jah, tab from Sk. kada, yad tad which changed to kad, jad, tad. Later on the final -d of these became -h.

Note: In QND of CMU we frequently come across with jad and tad, e.g.

-aur jad jānā ki 'and when he came to know' (QND-82)

-tad yeh kahtā hai 'then he says' (QND-91)

-tad woh uske taĩ dekhne kũ āyā 'then he came to see her'
(QND-90)

2. Place

(a) Proximate Demonstrative

yahā (yā) 'here'

-kaun.... āyā yahā 'who came here' (SB-60)

-gam bahut hai yā 'grief is in abundance here' (KM-226)

(b) Remote Demonstrative

vahā 'there'

-jaldī se pahūce vahā ' (he) reached there quickly'

(AM-47)

-lekin jab ki vahā pahūcā 'but when (he) reached there'

(KK-107)

-muslim vahā utrā 'Muslim got down there' (KK-108)

(c) Interrogative

kahā 'where?'-lekin na jānte the ki kahā jātā hū ' (he) did not know
where he was going' (KK-109)

(d) Relative

jahā 'where'

-jahā sājan base 'where the lover resides' (BK-52)

-usko jahā na pāyā 'where I did not find him' (KK-140)

(e) Correlative

tahā 'there'

-tahā yeh rahī thī 'there she lived' (QMD-88)

-tahā jāe ke baith rahtā hai 'there he goes and sits
down (QMD-75)

Origins: The adverbial element -hā, according to Beams and Kellogg is derived from Sk. sthāna as, eg. tatsthāna > tahā,

yatsthāne > jahā etc. Chatterji derives -hā from Sk. -tra (e.g. yatra, tatra, kutra) which developed in Prakrit into -ttha. Scholars also derive hā from Sk. -gmin. In Apabhramsa g of -gmin changed to h and min to ī (g > h, min > ī = gmin > hī). In Old Hindi -hī changed to hā. Due to the lengthening of the final vowel, hā in Urdu become -hā. The developments are shown below:

tahā < ^{OH} tahā < Ap. tahī < Sk. tasmin

jahā < OH jahā < Ap. jahī < Sk. yasmin

kahā < OH kahā < Ap. kahī < Sk. kasmin

Note 1: Besides yahā we also find yhā (AN-47) and yā (KK-226). Similarly kahā is sometimes recorded as kā (BK-57) the Braj for kit (p.39)

Note 2: Besides kahā, in Bk we also come across with the Braj form kit (p.39).

3. Direction

(a) Proximate Demonstrative

idhar (īdhar) 'hither'

-idhar dekh tanik 'see hither for awhile' (KS-53)

idhar tū ne lekin na dekha 'but you did not see hither' (DD-105)

-na īdhar guzar kiya (you) did not come hither' (DD-113)

-dek idhar 'see hither' (DD-132)

(b) Remote Demonstrative

udhar (ūdhar) 'thither'

-ūdhar ko jāo 'go thither' (AM-144)

-idhar udhar dekḥā 'saw hither and thither' (DD-107)

(c) Interrogative

kidhar (kīdhar) 'whether'-aur na jānte the ki kidhar jāte 'and (he) did not know
whither he went' (KK-135)-divāne kidhar gae 'whither have gone the lunatics'
(Ab., JSI-202)

-kīdhar hai āb 'whither lies the water' (DD-124)

(d) Relative

jidhar (jīdhar) 'whither'-aur jidhar ki mūḥ kiyā 'and whither he turned his face
(KK-146)

-jidhar gae ham 'whither we went' (DD-132)

-jīdhar cale 'whither (I) went' (DD-186)

(e) Correlative

tidhar (tīdhar) 'thither'-jidhar dekḥā tidhar terā hī rū thā 'whither I saw
(thither) I found your presents (lit. face)' (KK-133)

-phirte to ho.... jidhar tidhar 'you are wandering
whither and thither' (DD-140)

Note: The vowel preceeding by -dhar is sometimes
lengthened in OU and MU.

Origin: The adverbial element in these pronominal adverbs
of direction is -dhar which according to Beams is derived from
~~mukhar~~ the diminutive form of Sk. mukha 'face': dhar < ~~ndhara~~ <
mhara < Sk. mukhara. But this view has not been accepted
by many scholars.

4. Manner

(a) Proximate Demonstrative

yū 'thus'

-tū yū gāliyā gair ko..... de 'you may abuse others
thus' (KM-154).

(b) Remote Demonstrative

yū 'thus', 'so'

-vū hī nidā-e-ilāhī huī 'so there came a divine voice'
(KK-61)

(c) Interrogative

kyō 'why', 'how'

-khyā kyō išq maī ne āškār 'why did I reveal my love?'
(YK-JSI-214)

-kyō hue tun, kaho, duśman hamāre 'why have you become my enemy, please tell me (Yk,JSI-216)

(d) Relative

iyō (iyū), jū 'as'

-jū tū ne hñē dekhā 'as you (sg.) saw us' (KK-119)

-jū yeh āvās qāsim ke kār mē pahūcī 'as Qasim heard this sound' (KK-151)

-jyō badśāh sādā gāō mē phaithtā hai 'as the prince enters the village'

-ākhē jū mūdī 'as I closed the eyes' (KM-425)

(e) Correlative

tyō 'so'

-jyō yeh kuā mē nihurā tyō hī mārī hai 'as he bowed into the well so she strikes him' (QMD-84)

-jyō tīr kū zāh se chorā, tyōhī vis tote kī cōc mē lagā 'as the arrow left the cord, so it stroke the beak of the parrot' (QMD-71)

Origin: The adverbial element in these pronominal adverbs is yō (or yū) which according to Platts¹ is supposed to have sprung from the Sanskrit affix tbā or tham, e.g. itibam, Pr. ia, Ur. yū. But he prefers to derive it from Sk. evam, Pr. ayvam.²

¹. A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language, p.133.

². Ibid.

16.2.2 Nominal Adverbs

āge = (Sk. āgā) 'before'

-agar āge maĩ martā 'had I dead before (DK-119)

pīche, pāche = (Sk. pascāt) 'after'

-milan pāche bicharnā 'to be separated after uniting'
(BK-37)

phir = (Sk. punar) 'again'

-ki phir dildār pāū 'I should get the lover again' (BK-37)

sadā 'always'

-sadā tum pās haĩ sājān tumhāre 'your lovers are always
with you' (BK-52)

nit = (Sk. nitya) 'daily', 'constantly'

-jare jīvrā merā nit 'my heart is burning constantly'
(BK-32)

-nit gunahgār kyō na ho ādam 'why should the man not
commit the sin daily' (Ab., JSI-200)

kal, kalh = (Pr. kalla Sk. kalya) 'yesterday', 'tomorrow'

-kal šab-e-hijrā thī yesterday was the night of
separation (KK-142)

-kalh to taĩ na āiye 'please don't come tomorrow' (MD-89)

ai = (Pr. ajja < Sk. adya) 'today'

-āj maĩ sapnevñē dekha 'today I saw in the dream' (BK-64)

-un ne āj mere bāp kũ mārā hai 'today he has killed my
father' (KK-115)

2. Place

pās = (Sk. pārśva) 'near', 'at the side'

-sāhil ke pās 'near the shore' (KM-187)

bāhar = (Sk. vāhis) 'outside', 'without'

-jā se tan bāhar pare gā 'the soul will lie out of the body' (BK-56)

sāma = (Sk. sam + mukha) 'in front of'

-sāma painānā thā 'the cup was in front of' (KM-143)

āgē, āgū (āgū) = (Sk. agre) 'before', 'in front of'

-āgū us ke ek haus hai 'there is a tank in front of it' (QMD-22)

-āgū calke dekhte hāī 'going ahead they see' (QMD-22)

bhītar, bhitār = (Sk. abhyantre) 'within', 'inside'

-ceśmā bhitār 'inside the eyes' (DM-138)

3. Manner

turat 'quickly'

-karoge turat '(you) will do quickly' (AN-72)

bahut 'very', 'much'

-vohī qadr faiz kī jāne bahut 'it is he who knows the merits of Faiz much' (DF-209)

-nain tere huye bahut sarsār 'your eyes became much intoxicated' (DF-20)

nīpat = (Sk. nī + pat) 'very'

-nīpat muškīl kahānī 'very difficult story' (BK-37)

dhak 'suddenly'

-dhak jā ke uskī bāh ko pakrā 'going over there, suddenly
I caught hold of her arm (DF-208)

16.2.3 Adverbs of Affirmation and Negation

1. Affirmation

hā = (Sk. ān) 'yes'

-yazīd kahā 'hā' 'Yazīd said, "yes" (KK-264)

al-battā 'of course', 'decidely'

-kahā "albattā" 'said, "of course" (KK-269)

na, nā = (Sk. na) 'not'

-piyā is rut na āyā 'the lover did not come in this
season' (BK-53)

-aur javāb na dī 'and (she) did not reply' (KK-124)

-ab all na hai ghar 'Ali is not in the house this time'
(DM-125)

Note: na is also a Persian borrowing.

nahī, nāhī, naī = (Sk. na + ahī) 'no', 'not'

-ghorē, ūt phir vāh se calte nahī 'horses, camels do not
move from there' (AN-91)

-pānī naī milā logā ko sāt roz 'water was not available
to the people for seven days' (AN-101)

-šahr-e-dillī mē sānī ab nāhī 'there is no parallel now
in the city of Delhi (DF-198)

naī = (Sk. nā) 'do not' 'don't'

-rahā mat kar 'don't use to stay' (DF-201)

Distribution: na is extensively used in OU and MU.

The frequency of nahi is, relatively small. mat is also less frequent and is used with imperative only. naī and nāhī which are the variants of nāhī are commonly used in OU and eMU. In lMU they occur occasionally.

16.2.4 Perso-Arabic Adverbs

nazd. nazdik 'near'

-qayāmat nazd hai 'resurrection is near' (BK-42)

-jū ghar ke nazdik pahūce 'as he reached near the house'
(KK-123)

gahe 'sometimes', 'ever'

-nahī tū ne kiya mujh kū gahe sād 'you never made me
happy' (BK-51)

hargis (used with negation) 'never'

-hargis na parnā 'never be involved' (BK-65)

-hargis un kā kahā na mānā 'he never obeyed him' (KK-256)

dūr 'far'

-mujh se dūr bhāgo run away from me (BK-45)

-rāt ki āvās dūr jāti hai 'the voice at night reaches
far' (QMD-347)

śāyed 'perhaps'

-mīr ghar gae śāyed 'Mir perhaps went to (his) house'
(KM-293)

hameśā, hamāś 'always'

-chātī jale hameśā 'the heart is always burning (KM-456)
-hameś arzūmand marg kā thā '(he) was always willing to
die (KK-83)

hamūs 'still', 'yet', 'hitherto'

-rahtī hai merī ākhē..... tar hamūs 'my eyes still remain
wet' (KM-722)

al-qissā 'the story' 'in short'

-alqissā ek din mujhe kām thā sarūr 'in short, one day
I had some important work' (KS-122)

āxirul-amr 'at last', 'finally'

-āxirul-amr koh paikar ke dev to bhāgte hai 'finally the
huge-bodied monsters run away' (QMD-99)
-āxirul-amr muslim hazār muslbatō se kūfe mē pahūce 'with
many hardships, Muslim, at last reached kufa (KK-107)

bār̥hā 'often', 'many times'

-bār̥hā in rātō tumhāre dādā kū xāb mē dekḥā 'I dreamt
your grand-father many times during these nights (KK-89)

nāgāh = suddenly

-nāgāh āvāz-e-hātif āi 'suddenly the voice of an invisible speaker came' (KK-90)

-nāgāh dāxil huve us maḥal mē pās mard 'suddenly five persons entered that palace (KK-263)

yakāyak 'all of a sudden', 'suddenly'

-yakāyak ek bāg dekhi 'suddenly she saw a garden' (KK-263)

jald 'quickly'

-gal jald šab jo guzar 'the night passed quickly' (SB-30)

pas 'then', 'hence'

-pas voh kahā gae? 'where did they go then?' (KK-263)

šitāb 'hurriedly', 'quickly'

-šitāb ā 'come hurriedly' (KK-281)

16.2.5 Adverbial Phrases

(a) Adverbial phrases are formed by combining nouns, adjectives and adverbs with postpositions, e.g.

zor se 'heavily'

-baras zor se 'rain heavily' (KM-281)

nās se 'coquetishly'

-āo kabhū to pās hamāre bhī nās se 'sometimes come me also coquetishly' (KM-833)

sitābī se 'quickly'

-sitābī se bole jo kuch bo sake 'sow quickly whatever
you could (sow)'

pal mē 'in a moment'

-samānā phir jā hai pal mē 'the time changes in a
moment (DSN-151)

(b) In Adverbial phrases may also be included pronominal
adverbs combined with postpositions, Examples follow:

ab lag 'till now'

-ab lag tū kahā thā 'where had you been till now' (KK-123)

kab lag 'how long?'

-kab lag rahaga dūr 'how long will you remain separation?'
(DF-196)

kahā tak 'how far'

-kahā tak bhalā rooge 'how far will you weep?' (KM-218)

udhar se 'from that side', 'from thither'

-pher ke udhar se mūh 'turning the face from that side
(KS-115)

ab kā 'of the present time'

-kyā hū mai ab kā 'am I of the present time?' (KM-615)

-nikalte hai tab-e-xāk se ab tak 'are coming out of the
earth till now' (KM-733)

kab talak 'how long'

-gunahgār kab talak 'how far one will remain the sinner
(KM-805)

yehā se 'from there'

-bū āti hai vāhā se 'the smell comes from there' (KM-472)

16.3 Postpositions

The gradual reduction and the decay of case-endings of Sanskrit forms is responsible for the growth of postpositions in NIA languages. Some of the postpositions, as Dr. S.K. Chatterji has pointed out are of the recent origin i.e. of the late NIA origin, having developed not from OIA case inflexions, but from help-words which came to be combined with the stems or inflected forms of the noun in the period immediately before the NIA stage.³ In fact the case endings of Sanskrit are not preserved in any of the seven modern Indo-Aryan languages, analysed by Beams.⁴

Postpositions in Urdu are employed after words which are in oblique case to denote case-relationships. No postposition is used with nouns or pronouns in direct case. Postpositions are also not employed with all pronouns in accusative case and personal pronouns (1st and 2nd persons) in genitive case.

With the exception of the genitive kā all the postpositions used in Urdu are indeclinables. kā declines to -ī and -g to agree with the gender, number and case of the following noun.

16.3.1 Real Postpositions

Following are the postpositions which are used after nouns, pronouns and adverbs.

3. The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language Vol.II p.759.

4. op. cit., vol. II, p. 183.

par, upar 'on', 'upon', 'at'

-sar par 'on the head' (BK-61)

-dar upar 'at the door' (DQM-104)

-tum upar 'on you' (AN-71)

Note: upar is shortened form of ūpar.

Distributions: par occurs throughout OU and MU. upar with noun or pronoun occurs extensively in all the texts of OU.

Origins: par developed from Sk. para and Ap. pari and upar developed from the Sk. upari, se, se, seti, sū 'from', 'with', 'by'

-xāk seti 'from the earth' (DF-209)

-yahā se 'from here' (AN-77)

-gairō se 'with another (persons)' (DSN-132)

-us hath sū 'from her hand' (DF-240)

-ākhiyō sū 'from the eyes' (Sl., MR)

Distributions: se occurs throughout OU and MU, but in OU texts like BK and MR it is sporadic. se occurs in BK (p.64) only once. It is fully established in MU. Other forms as se, seti and sū extensively occur in OU and MU. In BK, sū and se are the most common postpositions. sū also occurs quite frequently in MR. The frequency of se and seti is relatively smaller in these texts of OU. Along with se, the forms seti, se and sū also occur in other important texts of OU like DQM and AN. These forms are recorded almost in all the texts of MU, except OMD where se and sū are lacking. seti, se and sū completely fell in disuse

in 18U poets like Mir, Sauda, Dard, Mir Soz, Mir Hasan etc.

Note 1 : setī or /setī/ has two phonetic forms: [setī] and [seṭī]. In the texts of OU and 18U both forms are in use.

Note 2 : In OU especially in DOM we also find the form te to give the meaning of se.

Origin: The postposition se and its variant se, according to Kellogg⁵ may be connected with the Sk. loc sing. sanga and te with Sk. abl. affix tan. Beams⁶ connects se se with san.

se (nê) 'by'

-piyā ne kar pakar jab gar lagāī 'when the lover embraced holding by hand' (BK-36)

-kiyā us ne 'he did' (AN-84)

-allī ne betō ko kahā 'Ali said to sons' (DOM-137)

-kiye hāī fath ham nê 'we have conquered' (DA-141)

Omission of se:

-āī maī sapne mē dekhā 'today I saw in the dream' (BK-64)

-uski bāh ko pakrā maī hāth sū 'I held her arm by the hand' (DF-208)

-maī kahā saudā se 'I said to Sauda (KS-67)

-maī hasrate-saudā ko sunā bolte 'I heard Mr. Sauda speak' (KS-108)

-ham g̃yās kiyā 'we made supposition' (KE-117)

5. op. cit., p. 132.

6. op. cit., II, p. 275.

Notes: na is the post position of agent (sg. and pl.) It is generally used with the subject of transitive verb in its past participle form. But there are many irregularities in the use of ne till the late MU period.

Origin: ne, according to the Trumpp and Kamta Prasad Guru is derived from the Sanskrit instrumental case (sg.) -ana an in halakana. Its development took place as follows: -ana > -ena > -en and by metathesis ne.⁷

It has developed according to Kellogg from the Sanskrit past part. act. lagya > Pr. laggia > lai > la > na.

tak, talak, lak, lag, lō (lā) 'to', 'till', 'Upto', 'as far as'

-haṣar tak 'till the day of resurrection'

-kab talak yeh dukh sahegā 'how long will it be suffering from this pain?' (BK-44)

-jab talak jiyā 'as long as I am alive' (BK-231)

-jab lag tū mujhe māre 'till when you kill me' (KK-126)

-haṣar tak 'till the day of resurrection' (AN-46)

-kab lag rahegā dūr 'how long will (you) remain away?' (DF-196)

-tab lō 'so long' (QMD)

Distributions: tak and talak are used throughout OU and MU, but frequency of talak is smaller than that of tak. lag occurs frequently in OU and eMU. Of the texts of eMU, KK records the highest frequency of lag. It is occasionally used in QMD.
7. B.N. Tiwari, Hindi Bhasha, p. 161.

lak is also found in these texts e.g. BK (46), AN (46) etc.

lā is sporadically used in QMD and in other texts of eMU. tak is fully established in lMU. talak occurs occasionally in the texts of this period. lag, lak and le become obsolete in lMU.

Origins: Kellogg⁸ and Platts⁹ derive tak from the Sanskrit affix āgama-ko, kū 'to', 'at'

-pahūcā hai paigām hom ko 'the message has come to us'

(AN-76)

-rāt ko 'at night' (DF-201)

-talāq apnī bīvī ko dī '(he) divorced his wife' (AN-51)

-piyā kū jā sunā 'go to the lover and tell (him)' (BK-59)

Distributions: ko occurs in all the texts of OU and MU but in OU its frequency is very low. kū is extensively used in the texts of OU except in AN where the frequency of ko ranks high. kū is also frequently employed in eMU texts like KK, QMD, DF, DA, DSN and MMJK. It fell in disuse in lMU texts like KM, KB DD and SB.

Origins: ko according to Trumpp developed from Sk. kṛtam (Pr. kito > kio > ko).¹⁰

kā (-ī, -e) 'of'

-piyā kā nām 'lover's name' (BK-65)

-is dard kī dārū 'the cure of this pain' (BK-31)

-xeme ke darvāze par 'at the door of the tent' (KK-217)

Declension: kā is the only particle which is inflected to -ī when the following noun is feminine (sg. or pl.) and to -e when the following noun is masculine (sg.) or in oblique case.

8. S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 133.

9. John T. Platts, op. cit., p. 192.

10. B.H. Tiwari, op. cit., p. 168.

Notes: In OU and eU we also find the constructions like pisar bāp ka (KK-181) the son of the father (KK-181) etc.

Origin: kā is connected with the Sanskrit root kri 'to do'. It originated from the Sanskrit kṛita on the lines: Sk. kṛita > MIA kāa, kā.mā, mā, manā (mane) 'in', 'around'

-mahal mē 'in the palace' (AN-117)

-gal mē 'around the neck' (BK-58)

-tan man mī 'in the body and the soul' (BK-32)

-dil mī mere 'in my heart' (KK-192)

-ghar manē 'in the house' (DQM-117)

-dil nane 'in the heart' (DQM-131)

Distribution: mē occurs less frequently in OU and more frequently in LMU. mī occurs very frequency in BK, MR and D.M.

Besides mē and mī, in DQM we also come across with manā and its denasalized form mana. mā also occurs in eU but its frequency is not as great as in OU. In OU and eU the frequency of manā is smaller than that of mā. mā and manā become obsolete in LMU and are not found in the poets like Sauda, Dard, Mir Soz Mir Hasan etc.

Origin: There is no controversy regarding the origin of mā. Its development has been traced as follows: Sk. madhya > Pr. maṁṁha > maihī > mahi > māi > mā .

16.3.2 Postpositions used with or without ka

Following are the postpositions which are used with or without ka

upar 'on'

-dīvārō ke upar 'on walls' (QMD-115)

-palāṅg upar 'on the cot' (BK-42)

sāṅg 'with'

-piyā sāṅg 'with the lover' (BK-43)

pās 'to', 'near'

-gac bāp pās 'went to the father' (AK-68)

pār 'across'

-nadī ke pār 'across the river' (QMD-80)

nicē 'Under', 'below'

-darax^t ke nicē 'under the tree' (QMD-80)

bagair 'without'

-bagair mā ke 'without the mother' (KK-76)

bhītar 'in', 'inside'

-pānī bhītar 'inside the water' (KK-95)

āge 'before'

-ākhō ke āge 'before the eyes' (KS-72)

Notes: Many forms which are treated as adverbs are also used as postpositions e.g. āge, upar, piche, bhītar etc.

16.4 Conjunctions

Conjunction which are used most frequently in OU and MU texts are classified as follows:

1. Connective:

aur = (Sk. अपरा) 'and' (SK-32, LD-36)

bhī = (Pr. bihi ← Sk. अपिहि) 'also' (KK-123, DF-234)

Notes: bhī in DF is frequently deaspirated, e.g. bī
kī 'that' (QMD-117, KK-217, 232)
ya, a 'and' (KK-100, BK-43, 45, 56)
yā 'or' (KS-181, QMD-283)
na.....na 'neither nor' (SB-73)

2. Adversative:

par 'but' (QMD-25)
parar 'but' (KK-87)
lekin 'but' (KK-65)
balke 'but rather' (KK-61)

3. Conditional:

agar 'if' (KK-105)
ya-agar-na 'and if not' (BK-48)
jo 'if' (BK-51)

4. Concessive:

to 'then' (KK-133, QMD-114)
agarci 'although' (KK-50)
pas 'then' (KK-134, 151)

5. Conclusive:

phir 'then' (KK-134, QMD-118)

6. Causal:

kyoki 'because' (KK-46, 136)

7. Final:

taki 'in order that' (KK-107)
mahadā 'may it not be' (KK-110)

16.5 Interjection

Interjections are mostly used to express an emotion or feeling. The following interjections are commonly found in OU and EU.

1. Affirmations:

hā 'yes!' (KK-260)

2. Applauses:

yāh yā 'well!' (BK-52)

3. Sorrow, grief:

hāa 'alas!' (BK-40)

hāa hāa 'alas!!' (MR)

hai hai 'alas!' (BK-53)

ah 'ah!' (KM-141)

afsoa 'pity!', 'alas!' (KM-723)

yāvalla 'woe', 'alas' (SL., MR)

hai 'ah, 'alas!' (SL, MR)

haihāt 'alas' (BK-37)

5. Vocative:

arē, rē 'O!' (BK-31, 48)

arī, rī 'O!' (BK-39, 50)

ajī 'O!' (BK-48)

16.6 Emphatic Forms

Emphatic forms may be used after a noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, adverb or postposition. The most important emphatic forms in Urdu is hī but hhī hax and iq are also used

for the sake emphasis. In DQM we come across with Dakni emphatic form -g.

hī 'itself, 'only', 'very'

-turat hī 'very quickly' (QMD-207)

-dost hī hai 'is friend itself' (QMD-252)

-bahut hī 'too much' (BK-49)

hī is also combined with pronouns and adverbs to form an inclusive emphatic form. Such examples are numerous. A few of them are abhi (ab 'now' + hī), tabhi (tab 'then' + hī), yehi (yeh 'this' + hī), muhi (muhi 'me' + hī) etc.

Note: hī is sometimes nasalized e.g. hī̃ (D.K-104), nahĩ (QMD-267).

bhi 'also'

-tū bhi mera na huva 'you also could not become mine' (MD-207)

-ā pas me bhi 'among themselves' (QMD-251)

-voh hath bhi giraya '(he) cut also that hand' (KK-172)

har 'every'

-har ik sū 'to everyone' (DF-202)

-har ek šahr ke 'of every city' (MD-321)

to

-sabhī ādmī to siyāne nahī hote 'not all men are clever' (QMD-318)

-o (=j) 'itself'

-usī kār nām 'the name of it itself' (MD-109)

-terī mematā kāj ---- bakhān 'the praise of your gifts itself' (D.K-147).

A NOTE ON SYNTAX

(a) Prose Specimens:

Urdu of North India, unfortunately, lacks in the specimens of prose. Right from the beginning till the end of the Old Urdu period (1700 A.D.) we have not found even a single piece of prose in Urdu in the whole of Northern India.¹ The old literature of Urdu is entirely in the form of poetry which does not give the correct idea of syntactic constructions since poetry is characterized by the maximum freedom of order. Due to the lack of prose specimens in Old Urdu, nothing could be said precisely about the Urdu syntax of this period.

It is during the period of early Middle Urdu (1700-1750) that we find two prose works, viz., Karbal Katha (1732-1733) by Fazli and Qissa-e-Mehrafas-e-Dilbar (1732-1759) by Iswi Khan Bahadar. Karbal Katha is the first prose work ever written in North India, but it is the translation of the Persian work Rauzat-ush-Shubada by Mulla Husain Waiz Kashifi. The Persian influence on Karbal Katha is very obvious. Qissa-e-Mehrafas-e-Dilbar is the first original prose work of North India which appeared at the middle of the 18th century.

Prose work is also not available during the late Middle Urdu period (1750-1800) except a few translations. Shah Moulvi Rafiuddin Dehlvi and Maulana Shah Abdul Qadir Dehlvi translated

1. Khwaja Ashraf Jahangir Samnani is said to have written a treatise on ethics and mysticism in 1308 A.D. which is supposed to be the first prose work in Urdu. But this treatise is not available anywhere in the world.

the holy Qurān in 1788 and 1790 respectively². Besides these, Mir Muhammad Ata Husain Khan Tahsin translated into Urdu the famous Persian story of Chahār Darvesh in 1798.³ His translation is known as Nau Tarā-e-Murassa. These translations are highly Persianised. The language of Nau Tarā-e-Murassa is especially studied and deeply saturated with Perso-Arabic elements. No other prose work in Urdu is found in North India till the foundation of the Fort William College in 1800 A.D. in Calcutta.

The syntactic analysis in the following section is mainly based on Karbāl Kathā (KK) and Qissa-e-Mahraṭas-e-Dilbar (QMD).

(b) Word Order:

1. The subject in Urdu generally comes in the beginning of the sentence before the verb but in certain cases the subject comes after the verb, e.g. -

-nāgāh dāxīl huve us mahal mē pāc mard 'suddenly

five persons entered that palace' (KK-263)

-dekhl māī ne 'I saw' (KK-104)

2. In case of the transitive verb the object generally comes in between the noun and the verb, e.g.

-sakhīyā gulāb chīrakhtī hāī 'friends sprinkle
rose-water (QMD-178)

2. Muhammad Zubair, Urdu Naṣr kā Tārīkhī Safar, p.10.

3. Ibid., p. 11.

3. The postposition *ne* is attached to the subject when it is in oblique case and the transitive verb is in the past participle form. In such case the verb agrees with the object, e.g.

-maĩ *ne* bhĩ yehĩ xāb dekhhā 'I also saw the same dream'
(KK-124)

Note : Sometimes *ne* is omitted and the verb (transitive) agrees with the subject, e.g.

-voh donō bāt sunē 'both of them listened to the talk' (KK-125)

-voh javāb na dī 'she did not reply' (KK-124)

-tab abbās kahe 'then Abbas said' (KK-166)

4. The general rule in Urdu is that the adjective precedes the noun or pronoun which it qualifies, but there are instances where noun precede the adjective, e.g.

-bāp hamāre *ne* 'our father' (KK-124)

-dil tere *ne* 'your (sg.) heart' (KK-124)

-āj sar us kā ātā hai 'to day his head comes' (KK-239)

5. The sign of genitive *kā* (*kī*, *ke*) generally comes after the possessor and is followed by a noun as in dilrubā kā nā 'the name of Dilruba' (MD-62), us tasvīr kī nācīl 'the copy of that picture' (MD-63) etc. But there are instances in which the noun which follows the genitive come before the possessor, e.g.

-aqlīm hindostān kī mē 'in the country of India' (MD-1)

-choti betī imām kī se 'from the younger daughter of the Imam' (KK-217).

(c) Agreement:

1. The verb agrees in gender, number and person with the subject in direct case, e.g.

-totā kahtā hai 'the parrot says' (QMD-209)

-gulrux nāctī hai 'Gulrux dances' (QMD-224)

-tab mā̃ bahnō xeme se bāhar daurī̃ aur rone lagī̃ 'then mother, sisters ran out of the tent and began to cry' (KK-175)

-maī̃ bhī̃ ātā hū̃ 'I also come' (KK-130)

2. When the subject is followed by ne, the transitive verb agrees with the object.

-jū̃ bārhe ne yeh haqīqat sunī 'as the old man come to know this fact' (KK-252)

-us ne nāv likhā 'he wrote the name' (QMD-145)

3. When the object is followed by the postposition ko, the verb remains in perfect participle masculine singular, e.g.

-hīran kū̃ zabh kiya 'slaughtered the deer' (KK-105)

-kūfe ke sardārō ko bulāyā 'sent for the leaders of Kufa' (KK-107)

4. When there are two subjects, differing in gender, the verb agrees with the last, e.g.

-aurtē aur larke nānge ūtō par savār āe 'women and boys came riding on the bare camels' (KK-254)

5. The genitives like ka ki, ke agree with the gender and number and case of the word following, e.g.

-bāp kā sar 'father's head' (KK-283)

-pānī kī jagah 'the place of water' (QMD-167)

-us ke bāp kā nāv 'his father's name' (QMD-150)

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-ye jo sair karte hāĩ, so kahte hāĩ 'those who
tour, they say' (QMD-27)

Obl. singular and plural:

- tis par savārĩ 'riding on which' (J2)
- tis kā nāĩ 'whose name' (QMD-1)
- tis ne taĩ rah 'in which you live' (QMD-5)
- tis kā ek betā thā 'who had a son' (QMD-12)
- jinhō ke pīchāĩ 'behin which' (QMD-235)
- tin ke pīche 'behind which' (QMD-237)
- jo bāt rāstĩ kahne vāle hāĩ, tinhe ko dūr rakhe
'whoever speak truth, they should be kept away'
(QMD-258)

Acc. singular and plural:

- yeh zabar, gāo kā jo hakīm hai tise hotĩ hai 'whoever
is the village governor, he knows this' (QMD-78)
- tise ultā tīgā hai 'whom the demoness has hung upside
down' (QMD-106)
- jo kharĩ thĩtinhe hukm kiya 'those who were
standing (they) were given order' (QMD-73)

(c) Distribution

1. In OU the correlative pronoun is found only in AN (pp.41,51,53,76) and go is the only correlative which occurs frequently. It accompanies the relative pronoun jo.

2. In OHU period SD is the only text in which the correlatives are most extensively employed. Here they occur prominently in direct, oblique and accusative cases as singular and plural both. In other texts of the period we find the sporadic instances of correlatives, e.g., tia (KK-132), sa (KK-139) tia (DA-15-15,89,74), tis (MJK-308). It is also found in J2 but its frequency is quite low. It is totally absent in DF.

3. Correlatives are nearly obsolete in LU with astray cases in KS (p.111) DD (pp.112,137) and KM (p.329).

4. There are no separate forms for singular and plural. so is used for both the number. tin, tinbō and tinbē are also used as singular in QND.

(d) Origin

sa: It developed from Sk. sah¹⁹ , Pr. sa.

tis: Its Pr. form was tissa which had evolved from Sk. tanasya²⁰

tin: Its development took place as follows: Sk. tanam > tanam > Pr. tāpām > tāpam > tin, tinb.

tinbē: It developed from tinb on the pattern of hamē, tunbē etc.

19. John Beams, op. cit., p., 322.

20. S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 216.

14.6 Interrogative Pronouns

kaun 'who?' 'what?'
 'which?'; kya 'what?'

(a) Declension

OU, eIU, IU

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Dir.	kaun	kaun
Obl.	kis, kin	kin,
Acc.	kise	kinhe~

(b) Occurrence

Direct:

- kaun hai sāthī hamārā 'who is my companion?' (BK-37)
- tū hai kaun 'who are you?' (AN-93)
- bālō~ ko kaun dhoe 'who will wash the hair' (KK-74)
- kaun rove hai 'who cries?' (KK-195)
- kaun khāve gā 'who will eat' (KS-161)

Oblique:

- xat hai kis kā achā 'whose handwriting is good'
 (AN-68)
- kis upar āhe 'what have you rode on?' (AN-142)
- kis se lare 'whom do you fight with?' (AN-142)

-kis kũ keh bābā pakāre~ 'who should we call

by addressing Baba?' (KK-89)

-kahũ kis se 'whom should I tell?' (KK-172)

-kis se pāyā hai 'from whom have (you) got?' (KS-155)

-kin ne banāyā tujhe 'who made you (sg.)?' (KS-89)

Accusative:

-pūchũ kse 'whom should I ask?' (BK-40)

-kise dost rakhtā hai 'whom do you (sg.) treat as
friend?' (KK-172)

(c) Distribution

1. kaun, kis and kise occur in all the texts of
GU and IU. kaun and kin are used as singular and plural both.

2. The frequency of kin is smaller than that of kis.
In oblique case ^{kin} occurs only in few texts. Whenever it
occurs it is generally followed by the postposition se.

3. The accusative singular kise is found in all the
texts but its plural counterpart kinhe is quite rare.

Notes: The interrogative kaun can be applied to
persons and things both. But there is another interrogative
pronoun kyā 'what' which is applicable only to things. kyā
is found in all the texts of Old and Middle Urdu.

(d) Origin

kaun According to Kanta Prasad Guru it developed

from Sk. kah and Pr. ko. Dr. Shyam Sunder Das has linked it with Sk. kah Pr. ko and Ap. kayana. But Tuner, S.K. Chatterji and U.N. Tiwari have traced it back to Sk. kah punah.²¹ Its development however, can be shown as follows: Sk. kah punah Pr. kayana > Ap. kayana > kaun kaun.

kin: Beams²² and Kellogg²³ derive it from Sk. gen. singular kanya which developed in Pr. into jaana or jana.

kin: According to U.N. Tiwari²⁴ it has developed as follows: Sk. kesam > Pr. kānam > kāna > kina > kin.

kisa: It has perhaps developed on the analogy of maiba, tuiba by suffixing -a to kia.

kyā: It is derived from the Sk. kin.²⁵

14.7 Indefinite Pronouns

koī 'someone', 'some', 'any', 'much' 'some', 'something'
'any ', 'a few'

(a) Declension

OU, eNU, lNU

	SG.	PL.
Dir.	koī	koī
Obl.	kisī, kisū	kinhī

21. B.N. Tiwari, op. cit., p. 201.

22. J. Beams, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 216.

23. S.H. Kellogg op. cit., p. 216.

24. U.N. Tiwari, op. cit. p. 466.

25. John T. Platts, op. cit., p. 121.

(b) Occurrence

Directs:

- agar koī un kũ dekhe 'if someone happens to see him' (DM-151)
- koī kahtī 'someone said' (KK-88)
- koī kahtā hai 'somebody says' (MD-61)
- sar par na rahā koī mere 'nobody was left with me' (KS-41)

Oblique:

- kisā kũ dil na dīje 'please don't give your heart to anyone' (BK-50)
- na darte kisē se 'not afraid of any one' (DM-151)
- kisē ko xūb nahī 'not proper to anyone' (DF-202)
- kisū par na kiya 'not affected anyone' (KK-71)
- le āo pānī kisū se 'bring water from someone' (KK-168)
- baxše kisī ko lākh 'gave to some one a lac' (KS-59)

(c) Distribution

1. koī and kise occur in all the texts. Besides kise there is another obl. form kisū which is found mainly in MU in the works like MD, DA, KS, DD, KM etc. It is not attested in SB. kisū is very rare in GU. In BK it occurs only once i.e. kisū ne hadd is dukh ki na jānī (p.66). It is totally absent in AN and DM.

2. The obl. plural kinhī[~] is quite rare. Its sporadic instances are found in BK. (p.64) and some other texts.

Notes: Besides koī, kuch is also an indefinite pronoun which is indeclinable. kuch is found throughout the Old and Middle Urdu periods, e.g., na āvā kuch 'there came nothing' (BK-49)

(d) Origin

koī: It has developed from the Sk. ko'ni (ko ani) In Pr. it changed into ko yi and in Ap. it became koī and in Urdu koī.

kiā, kiū: Both forms have developed from kiavāni which originated from the Sk. kaśvāni²⁶ According to U.N. Tiwari their Pr. form was kass-vi which changed into kassāi.²⁷

kinhī[~]: Its development took place as follows:
kaśānani > *kānānani > MIA kanampi, kānavi, kanāi > kinhī²⁸

kuch: It originated from the Sk. kin̄cit Pr. kin̄ci²⁹

14.8 Reflexive Pronouns

āp 'self'

(a) Declension

Sg. and Pl.

Dir. āp

Obl. āp, apan,

26. S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p.218.

27. U.N. Tiwari, op. cit., p. 467.

28. Ibid.

29. John Beam, op. cit., p.328.

Sg. and Pl.

Gen. apnā (-nī,ne), apas, apnō, apniyō

(c) Occurrence

Direct:

-āp sītāb apne ghr gāī 'she herself went to her
home' (KK-100)

-aur āp daraxt ke tale baithā hai 'he himself is
sitting under the tree'

(QD-77)

-āp musavvir thī '(she) herself was a painter' (QD-81)

Oblique:

-āp kū pānī lag pahūcae (he) took himself to the
water' (KK-106)

-maī āpko calte dekhā 'I saw myself walking' (KS-232)

-apan ko lukā kar 'hiding herself' (BK-41)

Genitive:

-khele piyā apne se '(they) play with lovers' (BK-55)

-apas mukh setī 'from my face' (AN-37)

-mahal bīc apne 'n the middle of his palace' (AN-54)

-aur apne ghar āvtā hai 'and returns to his home'

(QD-222)

(c) Distribution

1. The reflexive pronoun āp is used both as direct and oblique. At some places it has also been used as genitive.

apnā (-nī, -ne) occur in all the texts of OU and IU.

2. Special form apan occurs in EK, whereas apas as genitive occurs in AM, and KK at few places.

3. we have also the genitive apnā in AN (pp.173,201) and apniyō in KK (p.59)

4. Besides the oblique āp, the form āpas also occurs. But its use is restricted to locative and genitive plural i.e. whenever it occurs it is either followed by mē or kā (kī, ka). e.g. apas mē 'among themselves' AN (p.107), AND (p.30) etc.

(4) Origin

āp: It developed as follows: Sk. ātma > Pr. appa > Ap. appa Ur. āp. The honorific ap is also derived from the same source.

apnā, apan: These forms have developed from Sk. ātmanaka which developed into Pr. appapāna.

āpas: It seems to have originated according to B.N. Tiwari on the analogy of rāmasya 'of Rama' as follows: ātmasya > Pr. āpassa > āpas.³⁰ Kellogg is of the view that the derivation of āpas is uncertain. Like Beams he links it to Prakrit genitive āpassa which according to him, however, is preserved in literature.³¹

³⁰ B.N. Tiwari, op. cit., p.210

³¹ S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p.220.

14.9 Pronominal Adjectives

These are the adjectives more or less of the nature of pronouns and may be used as pronouns. Following are the pronominal adjectives which occur most frequently in Old and Middle Urdu texts.

Category 'A'

1. ek 'one' = Sk. eka - Pr. akka
 -ahed thā lare eke se ek javā 'it was agreed
 that one young man would fight with
 one' (AN-106)
2. duisrā 'another', 'the other' = Sk. dvīṣarta
3. donō 'both':
 -donō gae īd ko 'both went for Id (prayer)' (AN-45)
 -donō ne kahā 'both said' (AN-86)
 -donō ko sāth le 'taking both in (his) company'
 (KK-106)
4. aur 'other', 'more':
 -aur bole hai 'speaks more' (AN-100)
 -koi aur hai 'someone else is there' (AN-94)
 -nahī ham ko vasīlā aur 'we don't have any other
 means' (DF-224)
5. bahut 'much' 'many' = Sk. bhūti.

-bahut se vahā 'many (came) there' (AN-106)

-dev paryā bahut bahut rahte hai 'many many demons
and fairies liverthere' (QMD-222)

6. sab 'all, every one' = Sk. sarva:

-sab mar gae 'all died out' (BK-39)

-sab soī 'all slept' (KK-100)

7. kai 'several' = Sk. kati.

8. kul 'all', 'the whole'

9. har 'each, 'every'.

Notes: The -b of the word sab is aspirated in the oblique case e.g. sabhō BK (pp.48,53), AN (pp.94,119) KK (p.107) etc.

The -o of the word donō is sometimes denasalized in CU and eNU texts.

Category 'B'

(a) Adjectives of Quantity

1. itnā, ittā 'this much' = Sk. iyattaka Pr. ettia, ettaa:

-itā dukhrā 'so much miseries' (BK-51)

-javāb itnā dekar 'replying this much' (AN-97)

-itā dukh diyā kyō 'why did you give so much miseries'
(AN-133)

2. jitnā, jittā 'as much' = Pr. jettia:

-jite dekh 'as much as (he) saw' (AN-156)

-ghore jitte hai 'as many as horses are there' (QMD-235)

3. kitnā, kittā 'how much' = Sk. kiṇvattak Pr. kettia:

-kitne samī hokar paṛe 'as many were lying wounded.

(b) Adjectives of kind

1. aisā 'of this kind' 'like this' 'such' = Sk. etādṛaś:

-nahī̃ aisā '(he) is not such' (BK-49)

-aisī̃ xabr̃ ō se 'by this kind of news' (KK-68)

-śor aisā parā 'such on uproar broke out' (KK-71)

-nahī̃ aisā '(he) is not such' (BK-59)

-ittafāq asiā hotā hai ki 'it so happens that' (QID-217)

-aisā hotā hai bahut kam 'such happens very rare'

(KS-74)

2. vaisā 'of that kind', 'like that' = Sk. etādṛaś:

-vaisā hī 'like that' (KK-98)

3. jaisā 'of which kind', like which' 'as' = Sk. yādṛaś:

-jaisā kī bāp ke gam se asar kiya tha 'as (she)
was affected by (her) father's grief' (KK-71)

-jaise āgū thi 'as it was in the front part' (QID-225)

4. taisā 'of that kind', 'like that' 'so' = Sk. tādṛaś:

-taisā ho jātī hai 'it becomes like that' (QID-225)

5. kaisā 'of what kind?', 'like what?', 'how?' = Sk. kiḍṛaś:

-kaisā āyā hai tū 'how did you come?' (AN-99)

-kaisā pānī thā 'what a water was like?' (KK-100)

Note : The form like itā, itā, ite occur mostly in

OU texts.

CHAPTER 15

VERBS

15.1 General Statement

Verbs in Urdu have undergone greater changes than nouns or any other part of speech. The verbal system of OIA (Sanskrit), so intricate and elaborate shows a continuous process of simplification during the course of the time. A verbal root in OIA took different shapes according to the phase, tense, mood, person and number resulting a large number of forms. Each verbal root had six phases¹ or "grades of action" which were distinguished by certain modifications of the sounds of the root and by certain affixes. Each of these six phases were conjugated for ten tenses² (lakār) and in each of which were three persons³ and three numbers⁴ making the total number of verbal forms as large as five hundred and forty⁵.

Besides this all the verbal roots numbering about 2000⁶ did not construct their forms on one and the same pattern. From this point of view the Sanskrit roots were grouped by grammarians into ten classes known as gāṇas⁷. Forms belonging

1. Active, Neuter, Passive, Causal, Desiderative, Intensive (as given by John Beames, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, Vol. III, p. 4.)
2. Lat (Present), Lañ (Imperfect), Liñ (Optative), Loṭ (Imperative) Lit (Perfect), Lauñ (Aorist), Lṛṭ (Future), Lṛñ (Conditional), Lut (Second Future), Āsir Lin (Benedictive). Loṭ (Subjunctive) existed only in Vedic Sanskrit.
3. First, second and third.
4. Singular, dual and plural.
5. Dharendra Verma, Hindi Bhasha ka Itihās, p. 288
6. S.K. Chatterji, The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Vol. II, p. 870
7. Bhavādi, Adādi, Juhotyādi, Divādi, Svādi, Tudādi, Rudhādi Tanādi, Krayādi, Curādi.

to one class were distinguished from those of the other classes. It is this complexity and extensiveness of forms which has made the Sanskrit verbal system the most intricate.

This situation did not exist for long. The CIA verbal system underwent the process of major simplification in Pali and Prakrit during the period of MIA where most of the verbal forms were modified, simplified and dropped. Next simplification took place in Apabhramsa where 540 forms were reduced to 72. These forms were much simplified and reduced when the language entered into the NIA stage at about 1000 A.D.

In Urdu the distinction of ten classes of verbs (*ganās*) is lost. With the exception of *janā* 'to go', *karnā* 'to do', *denā* 'to give', *lenā* 'to take', *honā* 'to be', all roots are conjugated on one and the same pattern. The number of these classes was already reduced to one in Prakrit and completely lost in Apabhramśa. The simplification took place in the system of tenses too. The dual number of CIA disappeared as early as Pali and like Prakrit and Apabhramśa Urdu has only singular and plural numbers. The introduction of gender is a unique feature in Urdu. Gender of verb is not found in Sanskrit (including the Vedic language), Pali, Prakrit and even in Apabhramśa. Verb gender is also not found in Persian.

Sanskrit had mainly the synthetic forms which were changed to analytic in Urdu, e.g. the form gacchati became (yoh) jātā hai '(he) goes'.

15.2 Roots

The root is the crude or basic form of a verb. It remains unchanged in various formations of the verb. It is always identical in form with the second person singular of the Imperative, e.g. khā 'eat' gal 'walk', parh 'read', bol 'speak' etc. With certain exceptions to be noted hereafter, the root is found in all verbal forms, e.g. galnā, galā, galṭā, galṭā, galṭā, galṭā etc. are derived from the same root gal which is found in all these formations. Similarly the root of bolnā, bolā, bolṭā bolṭā is bol, of rahnā, rahā rahtā, rahā is rah, etc.

The roots in Urdu are mostly monosyllabic, consisting of a consonant plus vowel (CV), e.g. gā, jā, pī, ghī, de, dhā etc. or of a vowel plus consonant (VC), e.g. uth, ur, āch, orh etc. or of a consonant plus vowel plus consonant (CVC), e.g. cakh, khic, tor, gir, mar, hai, has etc. In Urdu a '(to) come' is the only root which consist of a single vowel (V). Roots in Urdu have also more than one syllable, e.g., khurac, ulat, ulāh, camak, pakar, bīcar, tahā, kucal, nikal, tharthara.

larkhara etc. The monosyllabic roots are of primary nature while the roots having more than one syllable are secondary or derivative and in some cases produced by reduplication.

The roots ending in consonants are called "close roots" and vowel-ending roots are called "open roots".

15.2.1 Classification of Roots

The number of Sanskrit verbal roots is said to be some 2000, but not all of them were in use in Vedic and classical Sanskrit. During the MIA period the number of these roots was considerably reduced. Many of the Old roots fell in disuse and new ones were coined instead. Some were modified under the process of phonetic change and some lost their original meaning. The number of verbal roots in Urdu, according to Hoernle is 582.⁸ These are of two types: primary and secondary.

15.2.2 Primary Roots

Primary roots have developed historically from Sanskrit and Prakrit, e.g. kar 'to do' (Sk. kr) 'to cut' kāt 'to cut' (Sk. kart > Pr. katt) etc. The number of such roots in Urdu, according to Hoernle is about 393. Primary roots in Urdu may be classified as follows:

8. Shaikat Sabzwari, Urdu Zabān kā Itisāh, p. 509.

9. Ibid.

1. Roots inherited from OIA through MIA

(Tadbhava Roots)

(a) Simple Roots

(b) Prefixed Roots

2. Roots re-introduced from Sanskrit

(Tatsama and Semi-tatsama)

3. Roots of Doubtful Origin

(Desi)

1. Primary Roots inherited from OIA Through MIA

(a) Simple Roots

Examples:

kūḍ(nā) = (MIA kuḍḍ- < OIA kurd) 'to jump'

-nāṭe aur kūḍte have 'dancing and jumping' (KS-57)

kah(nā) = (MIA kah- OIA kathay) 'to say'

-mai ne kahā 'I said' (KS-58)

-yeh kah ke 'saying this' (KS-144)

rakh(nā) = (MIA rakkh- < OIA raks-) 'to keep'

-rakhtā hū̃ '(I) kee' (DSH-110)

dekh(nā) = (MIA dekkha-) 'to see'

-jū̃ tū ne hanē dekhā 'as you saw us' (KK-119)

-jab dekhā mai 'when I saw' (KS-125)

-jab tujhe, dekhū̃ 'when I see you' (KS-221)

bol(nā) = (MIA boll-) 'to speak'

-bole hai woh 'he speaks' (KS-133)

-jab bole pukār 'when ((she) speaks aloud' (DF-239)

de(nā) = (HIA de- < OIA dā-) 'to give'

-marizō ko vo de hai davā 'he gives medicine to
patient' (KS-137)

-agar mujhe apne ghar mĩ jagah dev 'if you please
give place in your home (KK-110)

kāt(nā) = (HIA katt < OIA krt) 'to cut'

-unglī apnī dāto se kātā hai '(he) cuts his finger by
teeth (KK-117)

pūch(nā) = (HIA pucch- < OIA prech-) 'to ask'

-mai tum se pūchne āyā hū 'I have come to ask you'
(KS-142)

-pūchā fātinā ne 'Fatima asked' (AK-43)

nāc(nā) = (HIA naco- < OIA nrt-) 'to dance'

-nāctī hai sab 'all dance (DF-232)

-nācte kūde hai '(they) dance and jump' (DF-234)

sun(nā) = (HIA sun- < OIA śru-) 'to listen'

-tum suntī ho 'you listen' (KS-41)

-yeh sunke 'listening this' (KS-143)

kāp(nā) = (HIA kampai < Sk. kamp-) 'to tremble'

-mai hī kāpū akeli 'I tremble alone' (BK-47)

khā(nā) = (HIA khāa < OIA khād-) 'to eat'

-kaun khāve gā 'who will eat?' (KS-161)

tūt(nā) = (HIA tutt- < OIA trut-) 'to be broken'

-nezā qāsim kā tūt gayā 'qasim's spear was broken'
(KE-157)

parh(nā) = (Sk. path-) 'to read'

-xat merā parhtā nahī '(he) does not read my letter

(i.e., JSI-206)

Other Examples are:

gin(nā) = (Sk. gan-) 'to count'

cakḥ(nā) = (DIA cakḥa- < OIA caks-) 'to taste'

jāg(nā) = (DIA jagḥ- < OIA jāgr) 'to wake up'

bhar(nā) = (OIA bhr) 'to fill' etc.

(b) Prefixed Roots

Examples:-

baith(nā) = (Pr. ubāitth- < Sk. upa- vīst-) 'to sit'

-baithī thī dukān mē 'was sitting in the shop', (DF-240)

pahir(nā) = (Pr. pahirāi- < Sk. pari- dhā-) 'to put on'

-cunriyā sab pahr āī 'all put on cunri' (BK-53)

~~-kha cuke kist jab ukhar ukhar 'when he ate up the
crop by pulling it out' (KS-164)~~

nikal(nā), nikas(nā) = (Sk. nis-kās-) 'to come out'

-jīv jo nikaltā hai 'the soul that comes out' (ID-48)

-na niksat jīv 'the soul does not come out' (BK-43)

paith(nā) = (Pr. pāitthāi < Sk. pra-vīst-) 'to enter'

-voh laṣkar mē paithā 'he entered into the army' (AN-135)

bec(nā) = (Pr. beccāi - Sk. vi-kr-) 'to sell'

-beccī thī '(she) sold' (DP-242)

-bāsār biś bec hamē 'sell us in the market' (KK-128)

saūp(nā) = (Sk. sam-arp-) 'to give', 'to offer'

-tujhe sab saūptā hū 'I give you all' (KK-197)

Other examples are : utar(nā) = (Sk. ut-tr-) 'to descend', ujar(nā) = (Sk. ut-jat) 'to be deserted', parakh(nā) = (pari-iks-) 'to examine', pōch(nā) = (pra-unch) 'to wipe', bec(nā) = (Pr. beccāi - Sk. vi-kr-) 'to sell', bhig(nā) = (Sk. abhi-añj-) 'to get wet'

2. Primary Roots re-introduced from Sanskrit

(Tatsama or Semi-tatsama)

Such roots are quite rare in Urdu. These were re-introduced from Sanskrit into Hindi¹⁰ and Bengali¹¹ under the influence of the revivalism of Sanskrit and Brahmanic studies. The following are few examples of this class of roots:

garaj(nā) = (Sk. garj-) 'to thunder'

-aur rād garjā 'and thundered (the sky)' (BK-39)

taj(nā) (Sk. tyaj-) 'to leave out'

-ais-o-īśrat ku tajo rī 'leave out the luxuries' (BK-65)

10. U.N. Tiwari, Hindī Bhāṣā ka Udgam aur Vikāś, p.484.

11. S.K. Chatterji, op. cit., p. 879.

3. Primary Roots of Doubtful Origin

(Desi)

There are a number of primary roots in Urdu which cannot be traced back to OIA (Sanskrit). Such roots are of doubtful origin. Probably they have come from Dravidian stock or from some other non-Aryan sources. But nothing can be said with certainty. Some of these roots are -

chār-, chād(ñā) 'to leave'

-ran chār kar 'leaving the battle field' (AN-110)

-mujhe chādo 'leave me' (BK-52)

larn(ñā) 'to fight'

-subah ham larēge 'we will fight in the morning' (AN-96)

Other examples are: jhāk(ñā) 'to peep', jhār(ñā) 'to wipe the dust', tāk(ñā) 'to hang', thōk(ñā) 'to strike', dhāk(ñā) 'to cover', patak(ñā) 'to throw', bāt(ñā) 'to distribute', lot(ñā) 'to lie down', bator(ñā) 'to collect' etc.

15.2.3 Secondary Roots

Secondary roots are derivatives and are formed by reduplication or with an added syllable¹² The number of such roots in Urdu according to Hoernle is 189.¹³ Secondary roots in Urdu may be classified as follows:

¹² John Beams, op. cit; p. 309

¹³ Shaukat Sabzwari, op. cit., p. 309.

1. Causative Roots
2. Denominative Roots
3. Onomatopoeitic Roots

1. Causative Roots

OIA had a number of causative verbal roots. But they lost their causal sense during the period of LIA and became primary roots. For instance the Urdu root mār(nā) 'to kill' which developed from Sk. causative mārayati is not a causative because its causal sense exists no more. Like mār(nā) = (Sk. mṛ-) 'to die' mār(nā) 'to kill' is also a primary root. To make it causative in Urdu the form yā is added to the root, e.g. marvā(nā) 'to cause to kill' If the root ends in a vowel, -l- is added before -yā as khilyā(nā) from khā(nā) 'to eat'.

The development of causal affix va took place as follows: Sk. āp- Pr. -āv -vāv -vā.¹⁴

Some of the examples of causative forms are:-

katvā(nā) 'to cause to cut' (KK-123,227)

phirvā(nā) 'to cause to wander' (KK-138)

likhvā(nā) 'to cause to write' (KK-278)

bulvā(nā) 'to cause to send for' (KK-284)

14. U.N. Tiwari, op. cit., pp. 485-86

2. Denominative Roots

Like causative, the denominative roots of Urdu are also secondary. Denominatives are formed by means of nouns and adjectives which are used as roots with or without the addition of -ā. Denominative roots are of two types:

(a) Tadbhava and (b) Perso-Arabic. Persian denominatives are mainly derived from the Persian infinitives ending in -dan or -tan, e.g. Ur. laras(nā) Per. larsidan 'to tremble'

(a) Tadbhava

Examples:

pirā(nā) = (Pr. pīdā < Sk. pīda) 'to suffer from pain'
 -dard sū sinā pirātā 'the heart suffers from pain' (BK-31)

vicār(nā) = (Sk. vicār) 'to think'
 -kyā....vicārū 'what to think of' (BK-32)

pars(nā) = (Sk. sparsā) 'to touch'
 -pagan kū pars 'touching the feet' (BK-41)

phās(nā) = (Pr. phansa < Sk. pāśa) 'to be entangled'
 -jī phāsā hai 'the heart is entangled' (DP-197)

bajā(nā) = (Sk. vadya) 'to play music'
 -bājāne lage sab voh 'all of them began to play
 music' (SB-22)

dukha(nā) = (NIA dukkha = Sk dukkh) 'to give pain'

-dil ko mere bahut dukhāyā hai 'has given much pain
to my heart' (DF-219)

bhaj(nā) = (Sk. bhajan) 'to chant a hymn'

-piyā kā nām bhajo rī 'chant the name of the
lover (BX-65)

tābiyā(nā) = (Sk. tāra) 'to assume a coppery colour'

-cād.... tabiyā gayā hai 'the moon has assumed a
coppery colour' (QD-188)

(b) Perso-Arabic

Examples:

qabul(nā) = (Ar. qabul) 'to admit', 'to accept'

-alī ne qabūlā thā 'Ali had admitted' (AN-154)

śarmā(nā) = (Ar. śarm) 'to put to shame'

-māh rā śarmāvtā hai 'puts the moon the shame' (BK-64)

navāz(nā) = (Per. navāxtan) 'to cherish'

-ai navāsne vāle yatīmō ke 'o, the cherisher of orphans'
(KK-67)

farmā(nā) = (Per. farmādan) 'to say', 'to bid'

-hasrat farmāe 'the Hasrat said' (KK-144)

laraz(nā) = (Per. larzīdan) 'to tremble'

-misl bed ke larazta 'trembling like the cane' (KK-196)

baxā(nā) = (Per. baxšīdan) 'to pardon, to bestow'.

-baxšiyo 'please pardon (imp.)' (KK-198)

rād(nā) = (Per. rādan) 'to expel', 'to defeat'

-rād dušmano ko 'defeat the enemies' (KK-117)

dafnā(nā) = (Ar. dafn) 'to bury'

-sar unke tanō se milā dafnāū 'I bury the heads after
joining them to their respective bodies'

(KK-269)

guzar(nā) = (Per. guzaštan) 'to pass'

-rāt yū guzartī hai 'as the night passes' (DE-236)

Note: There are instances where we have also qabūl

karnā 'to accept' (KK-60, QAD-218), dafn karnā 'to bury'

(DQW-133, AN-189) etc.

3. Onomatopoeitic Roots

These are of two types, onomatopoeitics proper and roots reduplicated or repeated.

(a) Onomatopoeitics Proper

Examples:-

dhamak(nā) 'to throb'

-deh dhamke 'the body throbs' (BK-39)

taraq(nā) 'to crack'

-zamin tarqī 'the earth cracked' (QAD-108)

tapak(nā) 'to drop, 'to trickle'

-rēh bī to tapaktā thā 'the rain also trickled' (D-215)

pharak(nā) 'to flutter', 'to throb'

-jigar pharakne lagā 'the heart (lit liver)
began to throb (SB-71)

dharak(nā) 'to palpitate'

-dil dharakne lagā 'the heart began to palpitate (SB-71)

kuhak(nā) 'to cackle'

-kokil-o-koyal kuhakne lagī 'cuckoos began to
cackle' (QD-47)

karak(nā) 'to crack'

-chātī karke hai 'the heart (lit. chest) is cracking'
(SD-228)

(b) Roots Reduplicated

Examples:-

(1) Complete repetition:

thartharā(nā) 'to tremble 'to quiver'

-lage thartharāne voh 'they began to tremble' (AH-155)

thakthakā(nā) 'to knock'

-thakthakāe 'knocked (at the door)' (KK-245)

hinhinā(nā) 'to neigh'

-hinhināne kī tāqat nahī rahī 'the energy of neighing
was lost (KS-122)

(11) Modified repetition:

tilmilā(nā) 'to dazzle'

-kaisā tilmilātā hai 'how he dazzles' (KK-279)

hatpatā(nā) 'to be anxious'

-merā jīv hatpatātā hai 'my heart becomes anxious'

(KK-224)

15.3 Formation of the Infinitive

In Urdu, the infinitive is formed by adding to the verbal root the termination -nā as, e.g. from the root kar- we get the infinitive karnā 'to do' or from parh-, parhnā 'to read' etc. Thus the verbal root in all classes of verbs is obtained simply by striking off the final -nā of the infinitive.

In Old and early Middle Urdu the roots ending in a vowel form their infinitives very frequently by inserting -y- before the termination -nā, e.g. deynā 'to give' (DND-124) jīvnā 'to live' (BK-40), jāvnā 'to go' (KK-132), pīvnā 'to drink' (KK-189), khāvnā 'to eat' (KK-233), gāvnā 'to sing' (QND-29), āvvnā 'to come' (QND-61) etc.

— This tendency is almost discontinued in late Middle Urdu period. There are hardly any cases of such formation in this period.

Origin: The termination -nā, according to Hoernle,¹⁵ is derived from the Sanskrit future participle in aniya. Beams¹⁶ and Kellogg¹⁷ also agree with this view. The infinitive karnā 'to do' may be derived as follows:

Sk. karaniyam - Pr. karaniam, karaniam > karnā.¹⁸

Notes: In OU and e/U the vowel in -na sometimes is nasalized as marṇā 'to die' (UD-33), nikalṇā 'to come out' (UD-337) etc.

The infinitive in Urdu is "gerund" or "verbal noun". It is inflected to -ā like masculine nouns ending in -ā. The inflected form is used in the oblique singular only and takes the usual postpositions. Thus from likhnā 'to write' 'writing' for instance, we get the dative likhnā ko 'to writing' (AN-72), from marṇā 'to kill', 'killing' the genitive marṇe kī 'of killing' (KK-95), from calnā 'to walk', 'walking' the locative calnā me 'in walking' (KS-181) etc.

The Braj Infinitive: In Braj Bhasa the termination for infinitive or gerund is -nau or -nāu, as in karnau or karnāu 'to do'. It inflects either to -nai or -nāi or -nā,¹⁹ e.g.

15. John Beams, op. cit., p. 237.

16. Ibid.

17. S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 338.

18. John Beams, op. cit., p. 237.

19. For example, Braj tum sau kahau kau ayaṁ hau (S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 285.)

karnai, karani or karana.²⁰ In Dikat Kahani (DK) there are five instances where gerund, under the influence of Braj, is inflected to -ana, e.g. dekhan 'beholding' (p.64), hasan khelan 'laughing (and) playing' (p.39) uthan baithan 'standing (and) sitting' (p.61).

Origin: The termination -an is derived from the Sanskrit verbal noun in -anam as karanam 'doing', patanam falling.²¹

15.4 The Noun of Agency

The noun of agency, in Old and Middle Urdu, is formed by adding to the inflected infinitive, the suffix vālā, e.g. sun-ne-vālā 'listener' (KK-250) churā-ne-vālā 'liberator' (JD-219) etc. Like infinitive or gerund the noun of agency is also a verbal noun.

Declension: The suffix vālā declines for the masculine like larkā and for the feminine like larkī as follows:

<u>SG.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Dir.	
Mas. <u>vālā</u>	<u>vāle</u>
fem. <u>vālī</u>	<u>vālīā</u>

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p. 236.

	<u>Sk.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Obl.		
mas.	vāle	vālō
fem.	vālī	vālīō
Voc.		
mas.	vāle	vālo
fem.	vālī	vālīo

Origins: The suffix vālā, according to Kellogg²² and and Beams²³ is Sk. pālaka, because Sk. gopālaka becomes govālā (or gvālā)

The forms hārā and hārī The noun of agency is also formed with the suffix hārā or hārī e.g. panhār 'one who brings water (DF-230), but in Urdu these forms are occasionally used. Some scholars derive hārā from Sk. dhāraka and others from kāraka.²⁴

15.5 Formation of Participles

Participles in Old and Middle Urdu are of three kinds, namely, the imperfect, perfect and past conjunctive. These are derived from the root of the verb.

²². Ibid. p. 342.

²³. op.cit., p. 238.

²⁴. Ibid.

15.5.1 The Imperfect Participle

It is formed by adding to the root the termination -tā, e.g. boltā 'speaking' (DEN-7), kahttā 'saying' (KK-63) ghasitttā 'dragging' (KK-87) etc. bactā 'selling' (LF-235)

In Old and Middle Urdu sometimes -y- is inserted after the root ending in a vowel before the termination -ta. e.g. āvtā 'coming' (BK-46, AH-79) davtā 'giving', bhāvtā 'pleasing' (B-46), rovtā 'crying' (QMD-202) jalāvtā 'burning' (QMD-205) pāvtā 'getting' (DA-57) etc.

Note: The insertion of -v- is more noticed in DQH of OU and QMD of eIU than in any other texts. It occurs rarely in the texts belong to lIU.

Declension: The imperfect participle is declined as follows:

Root ending in Vowel

jā- '(to) go'

	<u>SG.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Mas.	jā-tā/-vtā	jā-te/-vte
Fem.	jā-tī/-vtī	jā-tī/-vtī/-tiyā

Root ending Consonant

bol- '(to) speak'

	<u>Ma</u>	<u>Pa</u>
Mas.	bol-tā	bol-te
Fem.	bol-tī	bol-tī/ -tiyā

Distributions The imperfect participles in -tiya is almost absent in OU. with the exception of BK it is not found in any of the text of this period. The texts of Harasi-e-Rekhta (MR) available also do not record this form of imperf. participle. In BK it occurs only once i.e. kartiyā (p.55). Of the texts of MU it is very common in KK. It does not appear at all in JD and DF of the same period. In LU period it is found even in Lir and Sauda and Lir Hasan. A few examples are: rotiyā 'crying' (KK-164) kahtiyā 'saying' (KK-88) īatiyā (KK-240) īaltiyā 'burning' (KK-566) hiltiyā 'moving' (KK-566) ātiyā 'coming' (SB-27) īatiyā 'going' (SB-27).

Of the texts analysed Bikat Kahani (BK) is the only text which records also a few imperf. participle of Braj Bhasa. In Braj the termination for the imperf. participle is -tu(-t) (or -at), e.g. hotu 'becoming', calatu²⁵ 'walking' etc. In OU the final -t of the Braj termination -tu (-at) is dropped. Examples from BK are: rovaṭ 'crying' (pp.34,40,58,62) 25. S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 285.

kerat 'doing' (pp.39,52) bharat 'suffering' (p.43) niksat 'coming out' (p.43) dharat 'keeping' (p.52) phirat 'wandering' (p.55) hasat 'laughing' (p.58), jalat 'burning' (p.61) calat 'blowing' (p.61) marat 'dying' (p.65) etc.

Note: The imperfect participle may also be used as ^{without} adjective with or/ mu(y)ā, which is also inflected to -e (mas. pl.), -ī (fem. sg.) and ī (fem. pl.), e.g. camaktā 'glittering' (SB-58) lataktā mu(y)ā 'hanging' (SB-66) camaktā 'shining' (SB-93) etc.

Origins: The terminations -tā and -at both have developed from the Sanskrit present participle at²⁶

15.5.2 The Perfect Participle

It is formed by adding to the verbal root the termination -ā.

If the root ends in a consonant the termination -ā is, in most cases, added without any change being made in the verbal forms e.g. marā 'killed' (Sl, MR) ghapā 'hidden' (DA-71) dekha 'seen' (Ht., JS I-234), gira 'fallen' (DSB-130) etc. But if the close root is disyllabic the vowel of the second syllable is dropped e.g. niklā 'come out' (DB-113) from the nikal.

26. Ibid. p. 339.

L I. is the only OU text in which we come across with perfect participles extensively formed by inserting -y- after the roots ending in a consonant examples from the texts are: bharyā 'filled' (pp.104, 109), parhā 'read' (p.105), bujhā 'extinguished' (p.106), kahā 'said' (pp.106,119), bhejā 'sent' (pp.107,109), dal-y-ā 'put' (p.110), mil-yā 'met' (p.110), dekh-y-ā 'seen' (pp.112,144,119) rahā 'remained' (p.115) bolā 'spoken' gueryā 'passed' (p.119) etc.

Note 1 : Insertion of -y- after close root is an important feature of Dakni Urdu, Such for of perfect participle is not recorded in other texts of OU like BK²⁷ AN and LR. It is also not found in any of the text of AU.

Note 2 : Besides this, DQM records certain other features of Dakani Urdu to which the references will be made occasionally. The introduction of Dakni elements to DQM is due to the fact that its author Ismail Amrohvi lived for the most part of his life in the Deccan.²⁸

If the root ends in the vowel -ā or -a, -y- or in certain cases -iy- is inserted before the termination -ā, e.g. roya 'cried' 'wept' (DQM-130) hoya 'become' (DQM-108) āyā 'come'

27. Though the edited version of Bikat Kahani does not record such forms but in the MS No.7. (Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad) occurs bharyā 'filled'. In the edited text of BK we find bhare (p.38) instead of bharyā. The form bharyā and certain other linguistic peculiarities of Dakni Urdu noticed in the MS No. 7 of BK lead to the conclusion that this MS probably was scribed in the Deccan.

28. Naib-e-Husain Naqvi (ed.), DQM. "Preface", P.76.

(KS-228) dikhlayā 'shown' (DD-108) pāiyā 'got' (D M-125), dikhayā 'shown' (D M-114), āiyā 'come' (DGM-158), lāiyā 'brought' (D M-158) etc.

Note: the forms with ay- exclusively occur in D M. These are not found in any other text of OU and MU. It is also due to the influence of Dakni Urdu on D M.

-y- is also inserted before the termination -ā if the root ends in -ī but in this case the long vowel -ī is changed to the short -i, e.g. piya 'drunk' (KK-166) from the root pi-

Declension: The imperfect participle is declined as follows:

Roots ending in consonant

cal- '(to) go'

	३६५	३६६
Mas.	cal-ā/-yā	cal-e
Fem.	cal-ī	cal-ī̃/-yā̃

Roots ending in Vowel

ro- '(to) weep'

	३६५	३६६
Mas	ro-yā/iyā	ro-(y)e
Fem.	ro-ī	ro-ī̃/-iyā̃

Distributions: Like imperf. participle in -tiyā, the perf. participle in -iyā is also not attested in OU. In HU it occurs mainly in the works of Fazli Dard, Sauda and Mir. Examples are : 'nikliyā 'come out' (KK-81), 'bhāgiyā 'run away' (KK-217), 'dhūbiyā 'sunk' (DD-147), 'malīyā 'rabbed' (KS-295), 'aiyā 'come' (KK-217), 'galīyā 'gone', 'dekhiyā 'seen' (KM-221) 'kholiyā 'opened' (Ab., JSI - 201) etc.

Note: Like imperfect, the perfect participle also may be used as adjectives with or without huva. e.g. latkā huva 'hanging' (SD-24) huva is also declined to -a and -ī.

Origin: The termination -ā is derived from the Sanskrit past participle in -ta.²⁹

15.5.3 Irregular Perfect Participles

Following are the irregular perfect participles i.e. perfect participles different from the roots of infinitives.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Perf. Part.</u>
honā 'to be'	hu(v)ā (AN-101)
Karnā 'to do'	kiyā (AN-105)
denā 'to give'	diyā (AN-91)
marnā 'to die'	mu(v)ā (KK-163)
jānā 'to go'	gayā (DD-115)
lenā 'to take'	liyā (KM-115)

29. S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 339.

Of the above, honā in DQM also forms its regular perf. participle hoyā 'become' (pp.108,120). Besides the regular form hoyā and irregular form hu(y)ā, the infinitive honā also forms the another irregular form bhaya in OU (BK-38). kiyā is the irregular participle of karnā throughout the OU and IU but the regular form kara also occurs in AN (p.36). Its inflected form kari is found in AN (p.97), DQM (p.103) etc. marnā has also its regular form mara throughout OU and IU. The frequency of the irregular form mu(y)ā is lower than that of mara. mu(y)ā and its inflected form mui occasionally occur in OU and eMU and is quite rare in IU. In KK mara appears on p. 163 and mui on p.162. mayā also occurs in KM on p. 349. siyā and liyā are invariably found throughout OU and IU. iyā the regular form of ianā is used only in compounds, e.g. iyā karna 'to go habitually'

Origins: The irregular perf. participle kiyā developed from Pr. kio which originated from Sk. kṛta. Similarly mayā developed from Pr. muo and Sk. mṛta and gaya from Sk. gam.³⁰

15.5.4 Conjunctive Participle

It is an important and very widely used participle. It is used to connect one clause with another hence very appropriately called "conjunctive". It implies "having done". It is not employed to form tenses.

30. John T. Platts, op. cit., p. 133.

The conjunctive participle has different forms in Old and Middle Urdu. It may consist either of the simple root or may add to the root the syllable kar or ka or both as kar ka. Sometimes the syllable kar is repeated as kar kar. Example of these follow:

(a) Consisting of the root alone

Examples: ja 'having gone' (BK-34), pakar 'having caught hold of' (BK-36) sun 'having heard' (DQM-107) marda hoo 'having become died' (DQM-129) dekh 'having seen' (DQM-133) kale se lacn 'having embraced' (AK-67), bosa de 'having kissed' (KK-89) rakh 'having kept' (KK-114) has 'laughingly' (DF-195) mil 'having met' (DF-233) nikal 'having come out' (Ht., JSI-254) mar 'having become dead' (DD-107) etc.

(b) With the addition of ka or kar

Examples jala kar 'having burnt' (BK-34) aa ka 'having come' (BK-51) has kar 'having laughed' (DQM-106), taras khae kar 'having taken pity' (DQM-108), roa ka 'have wept' (DQM-117) bhul kar 'having forgotten' (DQM-136) ghor kar 'having left out' (QMD-268) dekh ka 'having seen' (QMD-26) kho kar 'having lost' (KS-78), sun ka 'having heard' (KS-108) soch ka 'having thought' (KM-219), etc.

(c) With the addition of karke and karkar

Examples: dekh karke 'having seen' (KS-133), uth karke 'having got up' (KS-198) and karkar 'having promised' (KS-51)

Note 1 : Besides the regular form a kar, the conjunctive participle of the verb ānā 'to come' also takes the form ān kar (DK-42)

Note 2 : If the root ends in a vowel sometimes -g is added to the root, e.g. āe 'having come' (BK-47), īāe kar 'having gone' (BK-49), roe ke 'having wept' (D.J-117), etc. This mostly happens in OU and e.U.

Note 3: The past conjunctive is indeclinable.

Distribution: Conjunctive participles consisting of roots alone occur very frequently in OU, less frequently in e.U and are almost nil in MU. It occurs in all the major texts of OU, viz, BK, AN and D.J. In these texts the frequency of such type of participle is relatively high. Besides this the conjunctive participle with the addition of ke and kar also occur in these texts.

Of the texts of e.U, BK records its most frequent occurrence. It never occurs in Q.D. Its place in this text is supplied by those formed with the addition of ke and very rarely with kar. It^{is} occasionally found in the poets of e.U like Faiz, Abru, Maji, Yakrang, Hatim etc.

By the time of L.U., participle consisting of root alone become almost rare, but not totally obsolete. In the works of L.U. authors like Mir, Sauda Dard, Mir Hasan etc. we come across with sporadic instances of this participle. Its place in these authors is supplied by kar and ke. In Sauda there is the preference of ke to kar. In Mir Hasan and Dard too the frequency of ke is greater than that of kar. In Mir ke and kar seem to have occurred equally.

Besides ke and kar there are also two other forms, viz., kar ke and karkar. They are not as frequent as ke or kar.

Origin: The conjunctive participle has developed from the Sanskrit form -ya (as in sambhāya 'having met') or -tvā (as in bhūtvā 'having been'). In Prakrit -ya was changed into -ia (as in Pr. nikkamaia < Sk. nikramya 'having gone out' and -tvā into -iā (as in Pr. sunia < Sk. śrūtvā 'having heard')³¹ In Old Hindi, according to Beams, the conjunctive participle ended in -ī as in kari³² 'having done' with the loss of the final -a of the Prakrit -ia. In Urdu both a and -ī were lost. and there remained only kar 'having done'.

So far as the origin of ke is concerned, Platts is of the view that it has also developed from the Prakrit form ia of the Sanskrit affix ya. According to him the Prakrit ia is first changed to ja, je and j is then changed to k³³

31. Beams, op. cit., p. 230

32. Ibid.

33. John T. Platts, op. cit., p. 135.

kar also developed on the same line from the Sanskrit root kṛi 'to do'. Its development may be shown as follow:
Sk. kṛitya > Pr. karia > kari > kar³⁴.

15. 6 Tenses

All the tenses in Urdu fall in three groups, viz. past, present and future. These are formed from the root of the verb and participles and are simple as well as compound.

A verb in Urdu has two genders, the masculine and feminine. It has also two numbers, the singular and plural and three persons, the first second and third in each number. The final -ā of the verb stands for mas. singular. A verb is inflected to -ā for mas. plural, to -ī for fem. singular and to -ī or sometimes -iyā, for fem. plural.

Verbs are either transitive or intransitive. Transitive verbs have two voices, viz. the active and the passive.

Simple tenses are either formed from the verbal root (as the Aorist) or from participles (as the past conditional and the past Indefinite) whereas compound tenses are formed from participles combined with auxiliaries.

15.7 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are generally used to form different tenses in combination with participles. But they are also

34. S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., 341.

used alone to express simple existence. The following are the forms of the auxiliary verb in Urdu.

PRESENT

Sg.Pl.

1st pers. $\tilde{h}\ddot{a}i$ '(I) am'

$\tilde{h}\ddot{a}i$ '(we) are'

2nd pers. $\tilde{h}\ddot{a}i$ '(you (sg.)) are'

$\tilde{h}\ddot{o}$ '(you (pl.)) are'

3rd pers. $\tilde{h}\ddot{a}i$ '(he) is'

$\tilde{h}\ddot{a}i$ '(they) are'

PAST

Sg.Pl.

1st pers. $\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}$ '(I) was'

$\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{e}$ '(we) were'

2nd pers. $\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}$ '(you (sg.)) were'

$\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{e}$ '(you (pl.)) were'

3rd pers. $\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}$ '(he) was'

$\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{e}$ '(they) were'

Note: Another form of $\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}$ is $\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}$ and of $\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{e}$ is $\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{e}$ which occur only in CU especially in DL and AN. These are however, not found in LK and MR. According to Prof. Masud Hasan Rizwi, they are totally absent in MR. In AN they occur occasionally, but they are frequently found in DL. The frequency of $\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}$ and $\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{e}$ in this text is greater than that of $\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}$ and $\tilde{t}\ddot{h}\ddot{e}$. They became obsolete in 18th century and are not recorded in any of the texts of early and late MU.

Declension: The forms tha and atha represent mas. singular. They are declined to the and athe for mas. plural and to thi and athi for fem. singular. tha is also sometimes declined to thia for fem. plural. The fem. plural form of atha does not occur at all.

Origin: Both Kello~~gg~~ and Platts are of the view that these auxiliaries have not developed from the verb honā which is derived from the Sanskrit bhū 'to be or become'. According to them the present forms are derived from the root as and the past for^(ms) from the root sthā.³⁵

15.8 Classification Tenses

Tenses in Urdu from the point of view of their structure may be grouped into the following three classes:

1. Tense formed from the Root.
2. Tenses formed from the Imperfect Participle.
3. Tenses formed from the Perfect Participle.

15.8.1 Tenses formed from the Root

The tenses which are formed immediately from the root of the verb are the Imperative, the Aorist and the Absolute Future.

35. S.H. Kello~~gg~~, op. cit., p. 232, and John T. Platts, op. cit., p. 143.

1. The Imperative

(a) The imperative is used in giving orders directions or advice. It is directly formed from the verbal root. The mere root provides the second person singular of the imperative, e.g., lā 'bring you (sg.)' (KK-179). Other examples are:-

-marsiy-e-husain parh 'recite the elegy on
Husain' (KK-56)

-jā aur lā 'go and bring' (KK-63)

-jā zamīn par 'go to the earth' (KK-65)

-us taraf kũ cal 'move to that side' (QSD-49)

-khol apne zarā lab 'speak a little', lit. 'open
your (sg.) lips' (KS-46)

Note: Pronouns do not necessarily precede or follow the imperative.

(b) The second person plural is formed by adding to the singular the termination -o, e.g. jāo 'go you (pl.)' (KK-137). Other examples are:-

-suno sakhiyo! 'listen friends! (BK-31)

-ek sāat goristān mējāo 'go to the graveyard
for a while' (KK-75)

-jāo aur qāfile mē milo 'go and join the caravan' (KK-121)

Note 1: The plural forms are also used as singular, e.g.

- marā tuk hāl dekho 'see my condition' (BK-48)
- piyālā cakho 'taste the bowl' (AN-115)
- zarā baitho 'sit for awhile' (KK-76)
- pānī lāo, 'bring water' (KK-79)

Note-2 : If the root ends in a vowel, sometime -y- is inserted before the termination -o, e.g. āyo 'come (you)' (DE-248). Other examples:-

- bhulāvo nahī 'don't forget' (DE-247)
- bulāvo mujhe 'call me' (248)

(c) There is another form of Imperative known as the Precative which employs respectfulness, request, advice, entreaty etc. It is formed by adding to the verbal root the termination -ye (in case of the root ending in a consonant) or -iye (in case of the root ending in a vowel). The imperative formed by -ye or -iye are employed in both the singular and the plural, e.g. hādhye 'please tie' (MD-89) dikhāiye 'please show' (KK-93) etc.

This imperative is generally used with the honorific pronoun āp 'your honour'. But there are certain exceptions to it. In MD we have instances where it occurs with taī e.g.

- kalh taī na āiye 'you (sg.) please need not come tomorrow' (MD-89)
- taī tab āiye 'then you (sg.) please come' (MD-89)

(d) The precative imperative is also formed by adding to the verbal root the termination -yo (in case of the root ending in a consonant) or -iyo (in case of the root ending in a vowel). This imperative is also employed in both numbers of the second person. Examples:

-kahyo 'please say' (BK-49)

-āiyo 'please come' (KK-115)

-be-ruxsat uske ghar mẽ na jāiyo 'please don't enter his house without permission' (KK-65)

-appne pidar se kal miliyo 'meet your father tomorrow' (KK-276)

Distribution: The forms in -yo or -iyo are found in all major texts of OU, but in AN its frequency is very low. It has not been noticed in the texts of KR (available at present). Of the texts of EMU it is extensively found in KK. It occurs quite rarely in QAD. It is also sporadic in LMU texts.

(e) If the root ends in -a or -i, -i- is inserted before the above terminations. In this case the vowel -a is changed to -ī, e.g. from the root da- 'to give' we get dīiyo (KK)³⁶

The irregular verbs like honā 'to be' and karnā 'to do' also form their imperative by inserting -j-, e.g., hojīye (KK-143) kījīye (KK-143) etc.

36. Khaleeq and Narang, Karbal Kathā kī Lisānī Mutālā, p. 30.

The terminations -ive and -ive, after -i- generally contracted to a and -a respectively, e.g. āie (AD-36) and dije (BK-41, 52) from the root de(nā), kīie (AD-3) and kīie (BK-41) from the root kar(nā) 'to do', līie (BK-58) and līie (BK-52) from the le(nā) 'to take' etc.

Note: Besides the forms kīive and kīie we also get in some of the ^t~~texts~~, the regular form kariye (karve), for instance, in Ka (p.288).

Origins: The Prakrit terminations of the second pers. singular were -a, -u or āhi as in cala, calamu, or calāhi.³⁷ These terminations were dropped in Urdu. The Prakrit terminations of second pers. plural were -ha or -dha as in calaha or caladha.³⁸ The Pr. -ha is changed to -a in Urdu by the elision of h.³⁹

Origins: The termination -ive used in precative forms, according to Platts,⁴⁰ and Kellogg⁴¹ is derived from the Pr. īīa as in Pr. second pers. plural imperative calīīaha or calīīadha.⁴²

2. The Aorist*

(a) The aorist is formed by adding to the verbal root

the following terminations:

37. S.H. Kellogg op. cit., p.346.

38. Ibid.

39. John T. Platts, op. cit., p.136.

40. Ibid. p. 138.

41. op. cit., p.347.

42. Ibid.

* For Aorist Kellogg has used the term contingent Future.

Terminations:-

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
1st pers.	- <u>ũ</u>	- <u>ẽ</u>
2nd. pers	-e	-o
3rd pers	-e	- <u>ẽ</u>

Note-1: The distinction of gender is not made in the aorist.

Note-2: In aorist the 2nd pers. singular and the 3rd pers. singular are identical with each other and so are the 1st and 3rd persons' plurals.

Note-3: The terminations of the aorist are also identical with those of the imperative with the exception of the 2nd pers. singular.

Occurrences:-

- likhũ patiyã 'I write letters' (BK-40)
- tab muh dikhãũ 'then I would show my face' (BK-42)
- tere muh se agar yak qaul pãũ 'if I get a word from your mouth' (BK-42)
- kis tarh batãũ 'how should I tell?' (KS-41)
- tã mujh pãs pahũcẽ 'so that they come to me' (DL-60)
- udhar na jãẽ 've .ay not go there (KL-570)
- hamãre sajan ko jo dekhẽ bañar 'if ~~hamãre~~ people look at my beloved' (DI-228)

-jare jiv.ā nerā 'my heart burns' (BK-32)

(b) If the root ends in a vowel the aorist is sometime formed by inserting -v- before the terminations, e.g., lāve (BK-31) from lā(nā) 'to bring', āve (BK-41) from ā(nā) 'to come', jāve (BK-41) from jā(nā) 'to go' jīve (BK-40) from jī(nā) 'to live', chapāve (BK-331) from chapā(nā) 'to hide', lave (BK-329) le(nā) 'to take', have (BK-60) from he(nā) 'to be or become', deve (BK-102) from de(nā) 'to give' etc.

Note: These forms are mainly found in OU and e U texts.

3. Absolute Future*

(a) It is formed by simply adding gā to the aorist. gā is inflected to -ā and -ī to agree with the number and gender of the subject.

Terminations:

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
1st pers.		
mas.	<u>ūgā</u>	<u>-ōgo</u>
fem.	<u>ūgī</u>	<u>-ēgī (-ēgiyā)</u>
2nd pers.		
mas.	<u>-eḡā</u>	<u>-ogo</u>
fem.	<u>-eḡī</u>	<u>-ogī</u>

* Platts calls it simply "Future".

	3rd pers.	Pl.
mas.	-egā	-ēge
fem.	-egī	-ēgī (-ēgiyā)

Occurrences:-

- jo kuch mujh ko kahe gā so karūgī 'I shall do whatsoever you (will) say' (BK-56)
- vo karēge gayān 'they will stay' (AN-81)
- yazīd hām ko māregā 'yazīd will kill us' (AN-83)
- jo kuch tū karēgā 'whatever you (sg.) will do' (AN-90)
- phir na āūgā 'I shall not come again' (ND-78)
- maĩ dor khīclūgī 'I shall pull the string' (ND-89)
- aur kabhū na dekhūgī 'and I shall never see' (KK-72)
- kyā karēgiā 'what will we do?' (KK-89)
- apne sar katāēge 'you will get your heads cut' (KK-138)
- dunyā mẽ kyōkar phirēgiyā 'how will we more in the world?' (KK-89)
- jab kabhū mar jāēge 'whenever we shall die' (KK-277)

Note: The forms in -giā mainly occur in KK.

(b) If the root ends in a vowel, -y- is often inserted before the terminations, e.g. hovegā 'will become' (AN-81).

Other examples are -

- nāv batlāvegī '(she) will tell the name' (MD-109)
- yeh na jīvegī 'she will not survive' (MD-231)
- tum par kyā hovegā 'what will happen to you?' (KH-75)
- ham sab āj jāvēge 'we will go t. day' (KH-139)
- xabar āvegī 'the news will come' (KH-400)

Note: These forms are quite frequently found in OU and e.U. They are not very common in MU.

Origin: There is no controversy regarding the origin of the Urdu gā. It is derived from the Sanskrit gataḥ⁴³ which is the past participle of the root gam 'to go'. Its development can be shown as follows: k. gataḥ > Pr. gao > gāa > gā⁴⁴

15.8.2 Tenses formed from the Imperfect Participle

The tenses formed from the imperfect participle are: - the Past Conditional or Optative, the Present Imperfect, the Past Imperfect or Continuous⁴ and the Future Imperfect or Continuous⁴.

Note: In the imperfect participle of a verb, -y- is sometimes inserted after the open root.

43. S.H. Kellogg, op. cit., p. 231.

44. U.N. Tiwari, op. cit., p. 500.

1. The Past Conditional or Optative

(a) It is formed directly from the imperfect participle which is inflected to agree with number and gender of the subject.

Terminations: -

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
1st pers.		
mas.	-tā	-te
fem.	-tī	-tī̃ (-tiyā̃)
2nd pers.		
mas.	-tā	-te
fem.	-tī	-tī̃ (-tiyā̃)
3rd pers.		
mas.	-tā	-te
fem.	-tī	-tī̃ (-tiyā̃)

Occurrences: -

-agar apne farzand kũ qurbān kartā 'had I
sacrificed my son' (KK-40)

-dādā kī qabr par hotiā̃ 'had we happened to be at the
(grave of the grandfather' (KK-89)

-maĩ zapt nakartā to sab šahr ye jaljētā 'had I not controlled myself, the entire city would have burnt' (KM-113).

-kāhe ko talaf hotā 'why had (it) gone waste?' (KM-113)

-kaške duā kartā 'would that (he) had prayed' (KM-366)

(b) Past conditional or optative is also formed by the imperfect participle of the verb hona 'to be or become' added to the perfect participle of a verb, e.g.

-tū na lāyā hotā 'had you (sg.) not brought' (KM-358)

-tū bhī to āyā hotā 'had you too come' (KM-358)

-iśq apnā na tumhē maĩ ne jatāyā hotā 'had I not made my love known to you' (KM-359)

2. The Present Imperfect

(a) It is formed by adding the present auxiliaries to the imperfect participle.

Terminations:-

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Ist pers.		
mas.	-tā hū̃	-te haĩ
fem.	-tī hū̃	-tī (-tī̃/-tiyā̃) haĩ

	hai	hai
2nd pers.		
mas.	-tā hai	-te ho
fem.	-tī hai	-tī ho
3rd pers.		
mas.	-tā hai	-te hai
fem.	-tī hai	-tī (tī/-tiyā) hai

Occurrences:

- doom bār likhtā hū̃ 'I write for the second time' (AN-56)
- ki sote hai donō berādar 'that both the brothers sleep' (AN-86)
- piche ham bhī āte hai 'we also follow' (AN-112)
- rāst kahtā hū̃ māī 'I speak truth' (DF-218)
- yād kartā hū̃ tujh kī 'I remember you' (DF-218)
- daurī hai nāriyā 'women run' (DF-232)
- seir kartī hai is tarh 'they walk in such a way' (DF-236)
- bag mẽ andar jāe ke dekhtī hai 'they see after they have gone inside the garden' (MD-15)
- phir jāngal mẽ āvtā hai '(he) again comes into the forest' (LD-78)

- nayin doṛte hāī 'the eyes sleep' (L-37)
- jab palkē hiltiyā hāī 'when the eyelids close' (L-566)
- nācī hī talo avī hāī 'they come down dancing'
(L-173).

Note: -y- inserted after the open root is sometimes changed to -ov, e.g. lotā hai 'comes' (ur., JLI-187) etc.

(b) In 66 and 68 the present tense is also formed sometimes by adding the same present auxiliaries to the corist of a verb, e.g.

- laṣkar yaṣīd kā calā āve hai 'the army of Yazid is approaching' (L-82)
- qāsilā jāve hai 'the caravan is leaving' (L-87)
- bolē hai voh 'he speaks' (L-133)
- marizō ke voh dō hai dāvā 'he gives medicine to
peti nte' (L-137)
- khole hai lab 'opens the lip' (ur., JLI-212)
- ab abas p. etāo ho 'you not repent in vain' (L-667)
- fai-e-banār gasro hai 'the spring season is passing'
(L-185)

(c) Only at few places in L., the present tense is formed from the Praj imperfect participle, e.g.

- piyā sañ sukh karat hāī '(they) are making merry with
their lovers' (L-39)

-tum sab sukh karat ho 'all of you make merry'

(BK-52)

-karat ho kyō bkherā 'why are you creating fuss?'

(BK-52)

-ghar ghar phirat haī 'they are wandering door to door' (BK-55)

(d) Sometimes the termination gā is added to the present auxiliaries which are used to form the present imperfect tenses. Examples:

-ham jāte haīge apne ghar 'we go to our residence'

(KK-141)

-āge jātā hūgā 'I am going ahead' (KK-106)

(e) The idea of continuity in the present is also expressed by the forms ho rahā (rahī, rahe), e.g.

-divānī ho rahī hū 'I am going mad' (BK-56)

3. The Past Imperfect or Continuous

(a) It is formed by adding the past auxiliaries to imperfect participle.

Terminations:-

	<u>SG.</u>	<u>PL.</u>
1st pers.		
mas.	tā thā	te the
fem.	tī thī	-tī (-tī / -tiyā) thī

	Ska	Pla
2nd pers.		
mas.	-tā thā	-te, the
fem.	-tī thī	-tī (-tī/-tiyā) thī
3rd pers.		
mas.	-tā thā	-te the
fem.	-tī thī	-tī (tī/-tiyā) thī

Occurrences:

-sabhī log kahte the 'all of them were saying' (AN-95)

-pān cabāte the 'they used to chew the betel-leaves'

(DF-240)

-voh rotī thī 'they were weeping' (AN-169)

-zainab-o-kulsūm zār zār ro kahtī thī 'Zainab and

Kulsūm were saying weepingly' (KK-164)

-phūphiyā rotiyā thī 'father's sisters were weeping'

(KK-164)

-dukhyāriyā rotī thī 'the afflicted ones were weeping'

(KK-216)

-maī isī vāste kisī se muhabbat na kartī thī 'it is

for this reason that I did not love any one' (AD-134)

-kabhū kahtā thā 'sometimes (he) said' (KS-146).

(b) The idea of continuity is also expressed by ho rahā, e.g.

-garam ho rahā thā 'was getting hot' (AN-110)

4. The Future Imperfect or Continuous

(a) It is formed by adding the absolute future of the verb honā 'to be or become' to the imperfect participle.

Terminations: -

	<u>Sc.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Ist pers.		
mas.	-tā hūgā	-te hōge
fem.	-tī hūgī	-tī hōgī
2nd. pers.		
mas.	-tā hogā	-te hōge
fem.	-tī hogī	-tī hōgī
3rd pers.		
mas.	-tā hogā	-te hōge
fem.	-tī hogī	-tī hōgī

Occurrence:

-yeh quidī darte hōge 'these prisoners will be fearing' (KK-265)

-jāntā hogā '(he) will be knowing' (QMD-255)

-isē tarah kahtā hogā '(he) will be saying like
this (QMD-357)

-jhm̐t bhī na boltā hogā '(he) will not be telling a
lie also' (QMD-271)

(b) -y- inserted after the open root is sometimes
changed to -o-, e.g.

-pāote hōge kuch dhab 'will be getting some idea'
(KK-223)

Note: This tense is not in common use in the texts
analysed.

15.8.3 Tenses formed from the Perfect Participle

The tenses formed from the perfect participle are: the
Past Indefinite, the Present Perfect, the Past Perfect and the
Future Perfect. In all these tenses the perfect participle
in the case of an intransitive verb is declined to agree with
the number and gender of the subject and in the case of a
transitive verb with the number and gender of object occurring
without postposition ko.

Note: In the perfect participle of a verb, -y and some-
times iy- is inserted after the open root. -y is also sometimes
inserted after the close root.

1. The Past Indefinite

It is formed directly from the perfect participle which in the case of an intransitive verb, is inflected to agree with the number and gender of the subject.

Terminations:-

1st pers.	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
mas.	-ā (-yā/-iyā)	-e
fem.	-ī	-ī (-yā/iyā)
2nd pers		
mas.	-ā (-yā/-iyā)	-e
fem.	-ī	-ī (-iyā)
3rd. pers.		
ma.	-ā (-yā/iyā)	-e
fem.	-ī	-ī (yā/-iyā)

Occurrence:-

-jo bītā mujh upar 'what happened to me' (BK-36)

-piyā is rut na āyā 'the lover did not come in
this reasons (BK-53)

-tum ne zulfē kholiā 'you spread the locks of hair'
(AN-38)

-maī qadar par girā 'I fell upon the feet' (Abr., JSI-201)

-alī dil mū kahyā 'Ali said to himself' (MD-114)

-bahut safed 'very fair' (QMD-308)

-nihayāt nāzūk 'very delicate' (QMD-319)

-bahut azīz 'very dear' (QMD-361)

-pyāsā nehāyat 'very thirsty' (KK-110)

The adjective is more intensified by addition of the emphatic particle hī to the adverbs, e.g.

-bahut hī mutabarrak 'most sacred' (QMD-54)

-bahut hī mubsurat 'exceedingly beautiful' (QMD-60)

13.4.2. By Adding sa (sī, se)

-bahut sī 'a large quantity' (KK-276)

-thorā sā 'very little' (QMD-303)

-adnā sū 'very inferior' (QMD-304)

-bahut se log 'a large number of people' (QMD-366)

Note: The intensive particle sā is derived from the Sanskrit śas 'fold'.

13.4.3. By Repetition

-acchī acchī 'very good' (QMD-222)

-acche acche 'very good' (QMD-222)

Note: sā declines on the pattern of adjectives ending in -ā. In QMD sū is also used for sī.

13.5. The Two Uses of Adjectives

In Old and Middle Urdu the adjectives are used in two different ways, viz., attributively and predicatively.

13.5.1. Attributive Use.

In attributive use the adjective qualifies its noun directly, e.g.

-ādhērī rāt 'the dark night' (BK-38)

-siyah bādar 'the black clouds' (BK-38)

-sīdhā hāth 'the right hand' (KK-170)

13.5.2. Predicative Use.

In predicative use the adjective qualifies its noun indirectly i.e. through the predicate, e.g.

-pānī Itā sāf hai 'the water is so clean' (QMD-23)

-jagah bahut acchī hai 'the place is very good' (QMD-51)

-bādshāhzādā rūbūrāt hai 'the prince is handsome' (QMD-198)

13.6. Persian Adjective

In Old and Middle Urdu there occur also a good number of Persian adjectives which are used either attributively or as a predicate. The adjective used attributively generally follows the nouns it qualifies and is joined to it by means of the particle -e known as ezāfat (annexation). Examples are:

-rūh-e-muqaddas 'the holy soul' (KK-66)

-badan-e-mutahhar 'the holy body' (KK-66)

-libās-e-siyāh 'the black dress' (KK-140)

-nigāh-e-mast 'intoxicated eye' (DD-179)

-xursīd-e-tābā[~] 'glowing sun' (KS-259)

-cašm-e-tar 'wet eye' (KL-530)

The comparative and superlative degrees of Persian are formed by adding the suffixes -tar and -tarīn to adjectives, e.g.

bad-tar < bad 'bad'

-battar 'worse' (QMD-121)

beh-tar < beh 'good'

-behtar 'better' (QMD-53)

xub-tarīn < xūb 'good, beautiful'

-xūbtarīn 'most beautiful' (KK-21)

CHAPTER 14

PRONOUNS

14.1 General Statement

All the pronouns in Urdu are derived from Sanskrit through Prakrit.¹ In Sanskrit, like nouns, pronouns had also eight cases declining for singular, dual and plural which make twenty four forms. The number of these cases and their forms were considerably reduced in all NIA languages. As a result of which in Old and Middle Urdu we have only four cases of pronouns, viz., direct, oblique, accusative and genitive in singular and plural.

Genitives are found only in the reflexive and personal pronouns of the first and second persons where they decline for case, gender. Such pronouns are called possessive pronouns. They can also function as possessive adjectives. The remaining pronouns have no special forms for genitive. Certain other pronouns which do not belong to genitive case can also function as adjectives.

Accusative, according to John T. Platts, is the additional form of the dative case which ends in the singular in -g and in the plural in -g̃.²

1. Abd-ul-Haq, Urdu Language, p. 116.

2. John T. Platts, A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language, p. 114.

Since the genitive is a possessive pronoun and adjectival in form, John Beams treats it separately. He distinguishes only two cases having four forms, namely, nominative and oblique in both numbers.³

Abd-ul-Haq has distinguished only three cases of Urdu pronouns, viz., direct, oblique (including accusative) and genitive.⁴ Shaukat Sabzwari has also given three cases of Urdu pronouns but has dropped the genitive case. His cases are direct, oblique and accusative.⁵

Most of the Sanskrit pronouns also declined for gender. The distinction of gender was retained in Prakrit⁶ but lost in Urdu. There developed in Urdu another kind of pronominal forms based on gender i.e. genitives in both numbers. According to Tiwari this was not found in Sanskrit.⁷

The pronouns in oblique case take the same postpositions which are used with nouns. The genitive case of the pronouns of the first and second persons is formed by -rā (-rī, -re) and not by kā (kī, ke) which is used to form the genitive of nouns or pronouns other than the first and second persons.

3. John Beams, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, Vol. II, pp.301-12.

4. Abd-ul-Haq, Urdu Sawāid, pp. 105-6.

5. Shaukat Sabzwari, Urdu Zabān ka Itiqā, pp.267-81.

6. H.H. Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindi Language, p.168

7. D.N. Tiwari, Hindi Bhāṣā, p.178.

The Old and Middle Urdu pronouns may be classified into personal, demonstrative, relative, correlative, interrogative, indefinite and reflexive.

14.2 Personal Pronouns

Traditionally the personal pronouns are classified into the first, second and third persons, but actually speaking there are only two kinds of personal pronouns, namely, the first person and the second person. For the third person the remote demonstrative pronouns are used.

Though in Old and Middle Urdu there are separate pronouns for singular but in all the texts the personal pronouns which are used for plural are also used for singular.

14.2.1 First Person Pronouns

mai 'I'

Old Urdu

(a) Declension

<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>
Dir. <u>mai</u> , <u>hau</u> , ham, haman	ham, haman
Obl. mujh (muj) mo, ham, haman	ham, haman
Acc. mujhe (muj), <u>hamē</u>	<u>hamē</u>
Gen. merā (-rī, -re), <u>hamārā</u>	<u>hamārā</u> (-rī, -re)
(-rī, -re) morī, mujh (muj)	ham, hamnā

(b) Occurrence

Dir. singular and plural:

- māi sapne mē dekhā 'I saw in the dream' (BK-64)
- dekhan hāi gāi 'I went to see' (BK-64)
- na dekhā tuk haman 'I did not see even' (BK-47)
- māi yeh dekhā hai xāb 'I have seen this dream'
(AN-40)
- māi sunī thī 'I heard' (AN-68)
- haman hote hāige tuman se judā 'I depart from
you (sg.)' (AN-67)
- māi madīno mē rehtāi hū 'I live in .adina' (D L-154)
- haman ik āg gāi kī mē jalat hāi 'we are burning in
the fire of love'
(BK-61)
- karōg gabūl us ko ham 'we will accept that' (AN-86)
- ham hāi gulām 'we are slaves' (AN-71)
- na ghar tere ham avēge 'we shall not come to
your house (D L-107)

Obl. singular and plural:

- jo bitā mujh upar 'what happened to me' (BK-36)
- mile mo sū 'meets me' (BK-44)
- ham kū bisara 'forgot us' (BK-39)
- mujh se rāzī 'happy with me' (AN-54)
- kahtā hai mujh ko 'says to me' (AN-42)

- ham ko bhī devo mukam 'give me also order' (AN-114)
- āo ham se larō 'come on, fight with me' (AN-115)
- haman ko so ruzbat — karo 'bid me farewell' (AN-67)
- muj se kaho 'tell me' (AN-120)
- na pūch ham se 'don't ask me' (AN-126)
- bulāte hai ham ko '(they) call us' (AN-43)
- jald kah ham se 'tell us quickly' (AN-86)
- cindagī ham kũ balā hai 'to us the life is a
curse' (S1, MR)
- haman se judā ho 'departing from us' (DLM-129)

Acc. singular and plural:

- na de yak dam mujhe cain 'does not give me rest
at all' (BK-34)
- hamē dikhāo 'show us' (BK-48)
- mujhe ummīd thī 'I had the hope' (BK-46)
- auval mujhe mār tū 'first, you kill me' (AN-89)
- beyā kar batāo mujhe 'tell me in detail' (AN-118)
- hamē yhā pe chorā hai 'has left me here' (AN-131)
- mujhē mujhe hai abhī 'I have to go just now' (DLM-120)
- mujhe chor 'leaving me' (DLM-115)
- le calo tun hamē '(you) take us away' (AN-87)
- hamē devo farnā 'give us the order' (AN-198)

Gen. singular and Plural:

- bī hāl merā 'see my condition' (AN-40)
- morī kahānī 'my story' (BK-50)

- sāthī hamārā 'my companion' (BK-37)
- ai dost mere 'O my friend' (AN-46)
- merā isq saccā hai 'my love is true' (AN-52)
- sabhō pahle mujh pās pahūco 'all of (you) first
come to me' (D.N.-116)
- jatāo mere dost kū 'tell my friend' (D.N.-153)
- ham pās āo 'come to us' (AN-65)
- hamārā yeh kahnā 'this advice of ours' (AN-74)
- hamāre sāk-e-dī kū 'to our religious lord' (SL,MR)
- hamārī na māt haigī 'we don't have mother' (D.N.-137)

(c) Distribution

1. The forms like māī, ham, haman, mūhe, hamē, merā (-rī, re) hamārā (-rī, -re) occur in all the three major texts of Old Urdu viz. BK, AN and D.N. haman has not been found in BK. haman in other texts occurs in direct and oblique case both. In BK and D.N. the form haman is found more frequently than ham. In AN astray cases of haman are found. Here the frequency of ham is greater than that of haman.

2. The first person dir. singular hamū occurs only two times in BK (p.64). It is totally absent in other texts of Old and Middle Urdu. It is a direct borrowing from Braj Bhāṣā, but it is also found in Old Awadhi,⁸ Rajasthani and Old Panjabi.⁹

8. Baburam Saksena, Evolution of Awadhi, pp.157-8.

9. John Beames, *op. cit.*, pp.302-3.

3. maī (p.50) and me (p.44) occur only in BK which is deeply influenced by Braj Bhasa.

4. The oblique forms mujh and ham are also used as genitive in all the texts of Old Urdu, e.g. deś mujh (BK-53), ham pās (AN-65), etc.

5. In one case the accusative form mujhe (mujhe) has been used with postposition kū in D. (p.135)

6. The sporadic use of the genitive plural hamā (hamna) is found only in AN (pp.38,236). It is totally absent in other texts.

7. The pronouns in oblique case sometimes are used without postpositions, e.g.

-lok mujh baurī kahe 'people call me mad' (BK-31)

-haman tum dikhā jāo apnā didār 'let me have a

look at your face' (AN-234)

-xabar dī mujh abhī 'informed me just now' (D. 106)

Early Middle Urdu

(a) Declension

SG.	PL.
Dir. maī, ham	ham
Obl. mujh (muj), ham	ham, haman, hamna
Acc. mujhe (mujhe), hamē	hamē
Gen. merā (-rī, -re) hamārā (-rī, -re)	hamārā (-rī, -re),
mujh (muj)	haman, hamāro

(b) Occurrence

Dir. singular and plural:

- maĩ jāũ kīdhar 'where should I go?' (JZ)
- us kī bāh ko pakrā maĩ 'I caught hold of her hand' (DF-208)
- maĩ qabūl kartā hū 'I accept' (KK-60)
- ham bhī tere pīche āte hai 'I also come after you' (KK-146)
- ham vahā ke bādshāh kū nāmā likhte hai 'I write letter to the king of that country' (JD-63)
- maĩ kisi se mahabbat na kartī thī 'I didnot love any one' (D H-134)
- ham āe 'we came' (KK-64)

Obl. singular and plural:

- mujh se khelā 'played with me' (JZ)
- ham sū na kar bat tū 'don't talk to me' (DF-208)
- mujh ko mārā hai 'has killed me' (DF-220)
- ham sū na kar judāī 'don't depart from me' (DF-222)
- kahā mujh kū cala chor 'where do you leave me?' (KK-190)
- mujh se kaho 'tell me' (JD-24)
- nahī ham ko vasila aur 'we don't have any other means' (DF-224)
- bāp ham kū tāj gaya 'father abandoned us' (KK-120)
- boltā thā hamnā se 'talked to us' (DA-19)

Acc. singular and plural:

- tū ne mujhe bhulāyā hai 'you have forgotten
me' (DF-219)
- mujhe rāt kū dafn kījiyo 'please bury me at
night' (KK-77)
- mujhe chor tanhā 'leave me alone' (KK-79)
- unhō ne hamē bulāyā 'they asked me to come' (KK-116)
- mujhe kyō nahī mārte 'why don't you kill me' (QMD-205)
- hamē śauq turhārī malāqāt kā be intihā hai 'we
have an intense desire to see you' (KK-53)
- kabhū hamē nahī bulāyā 'never called us' (KK-67)
- hamē na mār 'don't kill us' (KK-127)

Gen. singular and plural:

- haddī kuddī marī 'my bones etc.' (J2)
- mere dard kī davā 'the medicine of my pain' (DF-201)
- mujh dil ko bahut hai ummīd 'my heart is very
hopeful' (DF-206)
- ghar cale gī mere sāth 'with (you) go home
with me' (DF-208)
- kādhā merā nangā thā 'my shoulder was bare' (KK-64)
- mujh liye mare gā 'will die for me' (QMD-147)
- dil hamārā chīn 'snatching my heart' (DA-55)
- hamāro caman mō ā 'come to our garden' (DF-196)
- qāem rakho hukm hamārō ko 'carry on our orders
(KK-54).

(b) Distribution

1. mā and ham are the only two forms which are used in direct case throughout the eMU period. haman is also found during this period but it is used in oblique case and at few places in genitive case. The plural form ham is also used as singular.

2. haman does not occur in direct case in eMU. Where as ham occurs in direct and oblique both. haman occurs mainly in oblique case in the texts like DF, DA and DAK. In Mirza Asghar only one instance of haman has been noted. haman is not attested at all in EK and AD, the two most important prose works of eMU. In DF haman in oblique case is as frequently found in use as ham.

3. The most common forms of oblique case are mujh (muj), ham and haman. hamā is also attested in DA (p.19) ham and haman are used for singular and plural both.

4. mujh (muj), ham and haman also occur as genitive throughout the eMU period.

5. The forms of oblique case sometime occurs without postpositions. This mostly happens in DF.

6. The common genitives of eMU are merā and hamārā which modify their forms for case and gender.

hamārā is also used as singular. In KK we also find another kind of genitive hamārā̃ (p.54).

7. Accusative forms mujhe and hamē are found throughout the e.U period.

8. Like OU in e.U too the forms mujh and mujhe sometimes become muj and mujē respectively.

Late Middle Urdu

(a) Declension

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Dir.	<u>maĩ</u> , ham	ham
Obl.	<u>mujh</u> , ham	ham
Acc.	<u>mujhe</u> , hamē	hamē
Gen.	merā (-rī, -re), hamārā (-rī, -re)	hamārā (-rī, -re)

(b) Occurrence

Dir. singular and plural:

-maĩ to nahĩ jāntā kuch 'I know nothing' (KS-138)

-maĩ jāntĩ hũ tumko 'I know you' (KS-214)

-is vāste karte hāĩ ham qabūl 'I accept for this
reason' (SB-119)

-maĩ jo bolā 'as I spoke' (KM-277)

-ham khele sau tarah kā khel 'we played hundred
types of games' (KS-162)

Obl. singular and plural:

- mujh se ye kahā 'said to me' (KS-53)
- ham se mil gae 'met with me' (KS-71)
- ye sun ham se 'hear this from us' (SB-17)
- ham ko dikhlaīye 'please show us' (SB-96)

Acc. singular and plural:

- javāb de tū mujhe 'give me reply' (KS-143)
- mujhe jā se le cal 'take me out of this place
here' (SB-48)
- un ne kiya thā yād mujhe 'he had remembered
me' (DB-140)
- tum hamē bhī batāo 'tell us also' (KS-162)

Gen. singular and plural:

- merā betā 'my son' (KS-150)
- yeh hai merī dāstā 'this is my story' (SB-101)
- āj hamārā dil tarphe hai 'my heart is flutters
today' (KS-694)
- ha:ārā habīb 'our friend' (SB-128)

(c) Distribution

1. The pronouns like mai, ham, mujh, mujhe, hamē, merā, hamārā are fully established in LU.

2. The forms haman and hannā which were current in OU and eU, totally fell in disuse in LU.

3. mai and maie which are the deaspirated forms of maih and maiha also become obsolete in L.U.

4. In KS there are only few instances where maih has also been used as genitive.

(d) Origin

mai: According to Beams, Kellogg and Dharendra Verma mai originated from Sk. mayā > Pr. mai > Ap. mai mai.

ham: It has developed from Sk. aham > Pr. amhi > Ap. ham > ham.

maih: It originated from Sk. mahyam > Pr. maiiham Ap. majja, majjhu > maih.

maih: It developed from Ap. maih which was formed on the pattern of Ap. maih.

maih: According to U... Tiwari its development is as follows: manekara > manera > marā > marā.

Similarly hamā developed from ama-kara > hamā.¹⁰

ham: It developed from Sk. asma Pr. amha Ap. amha amh ham.

ham: According to Beams it has developed from Ap. amhai.¹¹ According to Tiwari ham was formed by

adding -ē to ham and this -ē developed from Sk. -an.¹²

10. U.N. Tiwari, Hindi Bhasha ka Udgam aur Vikas, p.462.

11. John Beams, op. cit. Vol. I, p.308.

12. U.N. Tiwari, op. cit., p.462.

14.2.2 Second Person Pronouns

tu 'you' (sg.)

Old Urdu

(a) Declension

<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Dir. tū (tū̃), taī, tum, tuman	tum, tuman
Obl. tujh (tuj), tum, tuman	tum, tuman, tume
Acc. tujhe (tuje), tujhē	tujhē (tunjē, tume)
Gen. terā (-rī, -re), tujhārā	tujhārā (-rī, -re),
(-rī, -re) tujh, tujhe	tunrī, thare, tunnā
	(tunnā), tum, tuman

(b) Occurrence

Dir. singular and plural:

- tū sukh karat hai 'you (sg.) enjoy' (BK-42)
 -tū kyā kare gā 'what will you (sg.) do?

(BK-56)

- tum kyō na āe 'why did you (sg.) not come' (BK-62)
 -jo kuch tū kare gā 'whatever you will do' (AN-36)
 -tuman rotī haugī 'you (sg.) weep' (AN-47)
 -bulāyā hai taī 'you (sg.) have called' (AN-75)
 -jo kuch taī kahā 'whatever you (pl.) said' (DM-104)
 -tū kaun hai 'who are you (sg.) (DM-116)

- tum s̃ac bolo 'you (pl.) speak truth (BK-44)
- tuman ... hargiz na p̃anā 'you (pl.) must not get
involved into' (BK-65)
- kyō ho gangīn tum 'why are you (pl.) sad?' (AN-43)

Obl. singular and plural:

- tujh p̃r bahut mehrbā 'very kind to you (sg.)' (AN-50)
- likhtā hū tum ko '(I) write to you (sg.)' (AN-56)
- tumo se 'from you (sg.)' (BK-163)
- tum ko nahī kuch fikr merā 'you (pl.) don't have
care for me' (BK-52)
- tuman se judā '(we) depart from you (pl.)' (AN-67)

Acc. singular and plural:

- tujhe bhāyā bidesā 'you (sg.) were attracted by
the foreign land' (BK-50)
- na deo tumhe qatrā pānī kā 'not to give you (sg.)
even a drop of water' (AN-138)
- zindā rahnā tuje 'you (sg.) have got to be
alive' (BK-116)
- mai b̃lū tumē 'I tell you (sg.)' (BK-121)
- agar gal hai tumhē 'if you (pl.) have any worries
at all (BK-52)

Gen. singular and plural:

- tuman bin 'without you (sg.)' (BK-42)
- terā ādesā 'your (sg.) care' (BK-50)
- tere mūr sē 'from your radiance' (AN-35)
- tumhāre navāsō ko 'to your grandsons' (AN-36)
- tuman sāt mē 'in your company' (AN-48)
- bahut āl tumrī 'many of your (sg.) descendants' (AN-69)
- tumnā upar 'upon you (sg.)' (DN-123)
- tum hārī kanīzā mē 'among your (sg.) slaves' (DN-163)
- na hai tumrī 'neither I am yours (pl.)' (BK-46)
- tumhārā ihsān hogā 'it will be your (pl.)
obligation' (BK-48)
- dhan bhāg thāre 'your (pl.) fortunes are lucky'
(BK-52)

(c) Distribution

1. The forms like tū, tū, taī, tum, tuman, tujh, tujhe, tumhē, terā (-rī, -re), tumhārā (-rā, re) occur in all the texts of Old Urdu.

2. tum, tuman, tumhē, tumhārā (-rī, -re) occur both as singular and plural.

3. tum and tuman occur as direct as well as oblique. They also occur as genitive, e.g. tum pās (BK-52), tum bin (BK-55), tuman bin (BK-42, 51) tuman sāt (AN-48) tum upar (AN-197), tuman bin (DN-119) etc.

4. tūh which is oblique form also occurs as genitive in all the texts of Old Urdu, e.g., tūh upar (BK-56), tūh zāt (AN-35) etc.

5. tumhē occurs in deaspirated and denasalized form mostly in DQM e.g. tumē (pp.56,112) tume (p.121).

6. tūh and tūhe also occur in their deaspirated forms in texts of the period.

7. tumo with postposition occurs only once in DQM (p.163).

8. In Old Urdu texts we have three more genitives tumrī, thare and tumnā. tumrī occurs in AN (p.69) and BK (p.46), thare in BK (p.52) and tumnā in DQM (pp.123,134) tumnā also occurs in AN but here it has been used as direct, e.g. tumnā (pp.70,236). tumnā does not occur in BK.

9. The accusative form tūhe as genitive is found only at one place in SL.(BR), e.g. tūhe bin.

10. In AN the pronunciation tam for tum has also been recorded e.g. mar-te ho tam '(you pl.) die of' (AN-138)

Early Middle Urdu

(a) Declension

	3rd Sg.	Pl.
Dir.	tū, (tū̃), tū̃, tum	tum
Obl.	tūjh (tūj), tum,	tum, tuman (tumhan)
Acc.	tūjhe (tūje) tumhē	tumhē

<u>Gen.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Gen. terā (-rī, -re), tumhārā (-rī, -re)	tumhāra (-rī, -re) tumhārō, tuman

(b) Occurrence

Dir. singular and plural:

- gar tum miloge un setī 'if you (sg.) meet him' (DF-205)
- tū andar qadam dhar 'you (sg.) step in' (KK-86)
- taī jā 'you (sg.) go' (DD-7)
- tum kis tarh āe 'how did you (sg.) manage to
come' (DD-25)
- mujhe cāhtā hai tū 'do you (sg.) love me?' (DA-2)
- tum kaun ho 'who are you (pl.) ?' (KK-122)
- tum kyō rote ho 'why do you (pl.) cry' (DD-65)

Obl. singular and plural:

- tum se nahī hai rāzī 'not happy with you (sg.)'
(DF-207)
- yād kartā hū tujh kū '(I) remember you (sg.)' (DF-218)
- tujh ko dekhā 'saw you (sg.)' (DF-246)
- itā gussā bhalā nahī tuman kū 'so much resentment
is not worth while to you (sg.)' (DF-213)
- tuman kū 'to you (sg.)' (DA-37)
- maī tum se judā 'I am separated from you (pl.)' (KK-62)
- tum par kyā hogā 'what would happen to you (pl.)?'
(KK-78)

Acc. singular and plural:

- jin sikhāyā tujhe 'he who taught you' (DF-202)
- maĩ ne tujhe pichānā hai 'I have recognised
you (sg.)' (DF-219)
- maĩ ne tumhẽ vafādār pāyā 'I found you (sg.) to
be faithful' (KK-77)
- yeh tujhe mār dāle gī 'she would kill you (sg.)
(JD-138)
- log tumhẽ dhūḍhte hai 'people are in search of
you (pl.)' (KK-120)
- āo tumhẽ us pās le jāū 'let me take you (pl.) to here
(KK-123)

Gen. singular and plural:

- tere mukh kī jānib 'towards you (sg.) face' (DF-201)
- begair hukm tere 'without your (sg.) permission'
(KK-67)
- tujh judāī mẽ 'in your (sg.) separation' (KK-67)
- terī hālāt 'your (sg.) condition' (JD-226)
- tujh lab kī 'of your (sg.) lip' (DA-7)
- tujh ākhiyā se 'from your (sg.) eyes' (DSH-118)
- nānā tumhārā bīmār hai 'your (pl.) grand-father
is ill' (KK-63)
- in bālō tumhārō se 'from these of yours (pl.)
hair' (KK-67)

(c) Distribution

1. The second person pronouns which are used in direct case in eIU are tū, tū̃, taī and tum. tum is used as singular and plural both. taī does not occur in KK. ta is also quite rare. The most common direct pronouns in KK are tū̃ and tum. The frequency of taī in QMD is greater than that of tū (tū̃) or tum. taī also occurs in DA (p.214) and DSN (p.239). It is also found in Jafar Zata'li.

2. Unlike OU tuman in eIU occurs only in oblique case. In DF it also takes the form of tumhan. tuman is mainly found in DF (pp.213-14), DA, (pp.37,169,189) DSN (pp.53,198) and in Mirza Nazhar Jan Janan. Like haman, tuman is also not attested in KK and QMD.

3. In KK the oblique form tujh is deaspirated when it is followed by the post position, ko kũ. Deaspirated form is sporadic in other texts.

4. The accusative forms taibe and tuphẽ are found in all the texts of eIU. tuphẽ is also used as singular. Its deaspirated and denasalized form fell in disuse in eIU.

5. Besides the genitive forms terā and tuphārā there is also tuphārō̃ (pl.) which exclusively occurs in KK (p.67).

6. terā and tuphārā occur in all the texts and

modify their forms for case, and gender.

7. In all the texts of e.U the oblique forms tujh tum and tuman are also used as genitive, e.g., tuman pās (DF-199), tujh lab (DF-210), tujh badan (DF-213) tum binā (DF-248) tujh hukm (KK-105) tujh labā (DA-72), tujh oad (DSN-52).

8. There are sporadic instances where forms of oblique case have been used without postpositions.

Note 1: To express the idea of plurality sometimes sab is used with the pronoun, e.g. tum sab 'all of you' (KK-62).

Note 2: In e.U we occasionally come across with tere tai or tere tai which is another way of expressing the accusative-dative case.

Late Middle Urdu

(a) Declension

Eg.	Pl.
Dir. <u>tū</u> , <u>taī</u> , <u>tum</u>	<u>tum</u>
Obl. <u>tujh</u> , <u>tum</u>	<u>tum</u>
Acc. <u>tujhe</u> , <u>tumhe</u>	<u>tumhe</u>
Gen. <u>terā</u> (-rī, -re) <u>tumhārā</u> (-rī, -re)	<u>tumhārā</u> (-rī, -re)

(b) Occurrence

Dir. singular and plural:

- tum suntī ho 'do you (sg.) listen to?' (KS-41)
- taĩ usmē kar diyā 'you (sg.) put in it' (KS-57)
- tū bāzār tak gayā 'you (sg.) went to the market'
(KS-95)
- taĩ 'you (sg.)' (KS-133)
- tum suno 'you (pl.) listen' (KS-162)
- tum raho 'you (pl.) live' (KS-186)

Obl. singular and plural:

- huwā tujh se kyā gunāh 'what sin was committed
by you (sg.)?' (KS-124)
- maĩ tum se pūchne ayā hū 'I have come to ask
you (sg.)' (KS-142)
- maĩ jāntī hū tum ko 'I know you (sg.)' (KS-214)
- kyā tujh ko ho gayā 'what happened to you' (DD-115)
- maĩ bhūlā nahī tujh ko 'I did not forget you (sg.)'
(SB-85)
- tum se 'from among you (pl.) (DD-108)
- tum se rakhtā hū kām 'I have work with you (pl.)'
(SB-17)

Acc. singular and plural:

- kyā tujhe āzār hai 'what is the trouble with you
(sg.)?' (KS-138)
- tuhē huwā kyā hai 'what happened to you (sg.)?'
(KS-159)

Gen. singular and plural:

- jo terā dost hai 'he who is your (sg.) friend' (KS-56)
- tere kūce se 'through your (sg.) lane' (KS-232)
- tumhari nijāt 'your (sg.) salvation' (SB-17)
- tūhāre vāde 'your (pl) promises' (DD-178)

(c) Distribution

1. tū and tum occur in all the texts of L.U. tum is used both as singular and plural. The use of tai is minimised. The sporadic instances of tai are found in Jauda Hir and Bard. It is totally absent in SB.

2. tuman completely fell in disuse in L.U. It has not been attested in any of the texts of this period.

3. Oblique forms tuih and tum and accusative forms tuihe and tumhe occur equally in all the texts. tum and tumhe are also used as singular.

4. The deaspiration of tuih and tuihe is completely stopped in L.U. Similarly tū̃, the nasalized form of tū also becomes obsolete.

5. In L.U. too we find instances where tuih is also used as genitive but such instances are sporadic, e.g. tuih nās (KS-118) tuih huan (KS-225), tuih nās (KS-215) etc.

Note 2: For dative-accusative we also find tere tai but such instances are quite rare and confined to only few texts.

(d) Origin

tū It originated from Sk. tvam. Its development is as follows: Sk. tvam > Pr. tavam, tuh > Ap. tuhu, tuhā > Ur. tū, tū.

tāi: tāi is also found in Braj, Awadhi and Rajasthanī. It developed from Sk. tvayā > Pr. tāi, tūi > Ap. tāi, tāi Ur. tāi.

tuiha It developed from Sk. tubhyam > Pr. tuiha Ap. tuiha

tuiha: It developed from Sk. tuhve > Pr. tuiha > Ap. tuiha

terā It developed from Sk. tay + kera.

tum It developed from Sk. vasa Pr. tumh.

tumhā Its development can be shown as follows: Sk. vasme > Pr. tumhā > Ur. tumhā.

tumhārā It developed from Sk. vasa + kera > Pr. tumh + kera. In Urdu it became tumhārā.

Note: The honorific pronoun āp is used in the place of second person pronoun tū and tum to show respect to the person addressed. It has only one form in direct and oblique in both numbers. The examples are - jo āp farmāvē 'what your Excellency will please say' (KK-92)

-āp ke sar pe 'on your Excellency's head' (LS-131)

14.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

These are proximate such as yeh 'this', ye 'these' as well as remote such as yoh or yo 'that', ye 'these' etc. Demonstrative pronouns, especially the remote demonstrative are also used for pronouns of the third person such as yoh 'he', 'she', ve 'they' etc. In demonstrative pronouns there is no special form for genitive. The proximate demonstratives like yeh, ye, is, in and the remote demonstratives like yoh, yo, us and un are also used as adjective.

14.3.1 Proximate Demonstratives

yeh 'this', 'he', 'she', 'it'

(a) Declension

OU, eIU, LIU

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Dir.		
OU:	yeh, yū	yeh
eIU:	yeh, yū	yeh, ye
LIU:	yeh	yeh
Obl.		
OU:	is, in, inhō	in, inhō (inō)
eIU:	is, in	in, inhō
LIU:	is, in	in

Sg.Pl.

Acc.

OU:	ise, inhe [~] (inhe)	inhe [~] (inhe)
e.U:	ise, inhe [~]	inhe [~]
LU:	ise, inhe [~]	inhe [~]

Dir. singular and plural:

- yeh akbar alī the 'it .as Akbar Ali' (AN-131)
- pukārā yeh 'shouted this, (SlMR)
- yū dekh 'see this' (DAM-159)
- ye bhī rove hai 'they also cry' (JID-4)
- yeh kah ke 'saying this' (QMD-7)
- ye sāth hī rahte the 'they lived together' (QMD-12)

Obl. singular and plural:

- rahan is pe kar 'have mercy on him' (AN-138)
- pūchā is ko 'asked him' (AN-157)
- tan mū in ke 'in his body' (DAM-130)
- diyā ino ko 'gave to her' (DAM-11)
- xanf in ke nahī hai 'they are not afraid of' (DF-236)

Acc. singular and plural:

- ise dekh 'seeing this' (DAM-162)
- koi inhe mujh se chinā leve 'somebody may take them
by force' (KK-127)

(c) Distribution

1. yeh, ia, in, inhō, iaa, inhē occur in all the texts of OU and IU. In eIU, especially in QND (pp.4,14,15 17) the plural form ye is also found. The direct singular yū frequently occurs in DAI. (p.159). It is not found in other texts of OU such as BK and AN. In eIU yū is occasionally found in DF (p.215) and KK (pp.116-17). In DA (p.9) yū is attested only once.

2. inō, the deaspirated form of inhō occurs mainly in DAI. (p.111). The denasalized form of inhē is also found in the same texts.

3. In all the texts of OU and IU demonstratives are also used as adjectives, e.g. ia dard 'this pain' (BK-31) yeh māa 'this month' (BK-47) guxan yū 'this talk' (DAI-151) yeh dea 'this country' (DF-213) etc.

4. The demonstratives which are used as plural are also used as singular. But ye is always used as plural, where as yeh is used as both singular and plural.

(d) Origin

yeh: It has developed from the Sanskrit asah on the following lines: Sk. asah > Pr. aso > Ap. sha, sh > Ur. yah.

is: It has developed according to Beams from Sk. asya and Pr. assa. But Dr. B.K. Chatterji has traced it to Sk. ataya. Its development can be shown as follows: Sk. etaya > Pr. eassa > is.

iss: The form iss developed from is on the analogy of maha, tuiha etc.

ye: it developed from Sk. etc. Pr. ee, ya > Ap. ei or eh > ye. in (inh): it developed according to B.N. Tiwari from Sk. asām or ataśām on the following lines: Sk. asām, etesām > Pr. eānam, eāna > Ap. ena, enaha (addition of -h-) > inh in.

14.3.2 Remote Demonstratives

voh 'that', 'he', 'she', 'it'

(a) Declension

OU, MU, LU

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Dir.		
OU:	voh, vo, vū	voh, ve
MU:	voh, vo, vu, u	voh, ve, vo
LU:	voh	voh, ve
Obl.		
OU:	us, unhō	un, unhō ((uno)
MU:	us, vis, un, unhō	un, vin, unhō (unho) unā
LU:	us, un, unhō	un, unhō

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Acc.		
OM:	use, unhẽ (une)	unhẽ (une)
elU:	use, vice, unhẽ, (unhe)	unhẽ (unhe)
lU:	use, unhẽ	unhẽ

(b) Occurrence

Dir. singular and plural:

- uthĩ vu 'she got up' (AN-120)
- voh ghar ko gayā 'he went home' (AN-55)
- kare ge ve adab 'they will respect' (AN-143)
- hakīm hai vo 'he is the governor' (AN-51)
- bole ve 'they said' (DM-108)
- phĩtĩ ã 'she used to walk' (DF-239)
- phir voh bhāgā 'then he ran away' (KK-158)
- ve tujhe nahĩ chorne ke 'they are not to release
you' (MD-142)
- voh kaun thā 'who was it?' (KS-119)
- voh de hai davā 'he gives medicine' (KS-137)

Obl. singular and plural:

- dekh kar usko 'having seen him' (BK-64)
- pūchāus se 'asked him' (AN-47)
- un se milā 'met him' (AN-107)

- unhō se laro 'fight with them' (AN-105)
- unhō ko diyā 'gave him' (AN-136)
- bibī bolī us kū 'Bibi said to him' (DQ-116)
- unō se sunā 'heard from them' (D-11-107)
- unā mē ek thī 'of them was' (DF-230)
- vis se kahtī hai 'says to her' (QD-111)
- maī ne kahā unhō se 'I said to him' (KS-57)
- kahne lāgā us se 'began to say to him' (KS-138)

Acc. singular and plural:

- bulāyā use 'called him' (AN-54)
- chātī lagāyā une 'embraced him' (AN-67)
- diyā..... unhe 'gave him' (AN-108)
- unhō bahut pyār karte the 'loved him very much'
(KK-106)
- kiyā tai ne use 'you made him' (DE-224)

(c) Distribution

1. The pronouns yoh, us, un, unho, usa, unhe are found in all the texts of OU and EU. Besides yoh there are other direct singular forms such as yo, yu, and ū. These are found in the texts of OU and e.U. yo and yu are prominently found in AN (pp.51,63,88), MR (Sl.) and DF (pp. 206,209,216,238). yo occasionally occurs in KK(pp.127-28), yo and yu are totally absent in BK, DQ and QMD. ū

occurs only once in DF (p.239) ū in its shortened form also occurs in AN but it is always followed by the agentive ne, e.g. une (AN-108,210).

2. The plural form ye occurs in OU in the texts like AN (p.143) and DQI (p.152). In eIU it is frequently found in QID (pp.6,16,38,58,90). But KK which is another text of the same period totally lacks it. ve is sporadic in LMU and occasionally found in KS (p.119), DD (p.123) and KM (p.151). yoh is used as singular and plural both but ye is exclusively used as plural.

3. Besides unhō there is another oblique plural form unā which occurs mainly in DF (pp.221, 230)

4. yin which is the plural form of vis occurs in AN (182).

5. unhō and unhā are sometimes denasalized and deaspirated in OU and eIU.

6. Like proximate the remote demonstratives are also used as adjective in all the texts of OU and IU, e.g. yoh rāi 'that night' (AN-38), na vnat par 'at that time' (DQI-110) ya patthar 'those stones' (QID-16) un labō 'those lips' (DD-107).

7. Oblique singular ria is attested by its frequent use in QID (pp. 69,70,72,106,109). It appears at one or two places in KK. Its accusative form rise occurs in DF (p.224) and QID (p.242).

(d) Origin

yoh: According to Kanta Prasad Gura voh developed from Pr. so which developed from Sk. sah. But Dr. U.N. Tiwari has given its development as follows: Sk. saam > Pr. aso > aho, oh, yah.¹³ Dr. S.K. Chatterji has linked yoh with the hypothetical form of Sk. aya* and Pr. o.

ye: According to Dr. U.N. Tiwari it seems to have developed by combining the case ending of strumantal plural i.e. Sk. abhih > Ap. ahi > ai > -a to the direct sg. yoh.¹⁴

Dr. U.N. Tiwari has mentioned the possibility of the development of ye on the pattern of ye which has developed undoubtedly from Sk. etc.¹⁵

Ma: It has developed from Sk. amasya on the following lines: Sk. amasya > Pr. masaa > Ma.

un (unh): Dr. U.N. Tiwari has suggested its origin from Sk. amasyam > amunam > suna > unha > unh > un.

usa: Probably on the analogy of OIA asua, rusua etc. the Pr. form masaa became usaa which gave birth to usa.

unhā: According to U.N. Tiwari unhā has developed from un on the analogy of hamā, hamhā etc.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. B.N. Tiwari, op.cit., p. 196.

16. Ibid., p. 197.

14.4 Relative Pronouns

jo 'who', 'which', 'what', 'he who' etc.

(a) Declension

CU, eMU, lMU

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Dir.	jo	jo
Obl.	jis, jin	jin, jinho [~]
Acc.	jise, jinhā [~]	jinhā [~]

(b) Occurrence

Dir. singular and plural:

- jo bitā mujh upar 'what happened to me' (BK-36)
- jo des jāve 'he who goes to the country' (BK-41)
- jo tum ne kiya 'what you did' (AN-55)
- rafiq unke jo the 'those who were his friends (AN-84)
- jo dillī ke nazdik hai 'which is situated near
Delhi (DQM-165)
- jo āp farmāe 'whatever you please say' (KK-92)
- sakhīyā jo vahā baithī hai 'friends who are
sitting there (QMD-181)

Obl. singular and plural:

- jinho ke haipiyā ghar 'whose lovers are at
homes (BK-61)

- jis kũ kahā jibrail 'to whom Gabriel told' (SI,PR)
- karo jis pe hañā 'whom they attacked' (AN-83)
- karo rāt dīn yād jin ko 'whom you remember
day and night' (AN-88)
- jis ke sar par 'on whose head' (KK-68)
- jis mē chotī būd hai 'in which there is a small
drop' (QD-21)
- jinhũ se vādā nehī 'whom he has not promised' (DSN-153)
- jin ne phāsāyā hai dil 'those who have fallen in
love with' (DA-162)
- jis ko dekhā ham ne 'whom we saw' (KS-74)
- jin ne kī aisĩ xatā 'he who has committed such
a mistake' (KS-138)
- ilm yeh jin se 'from whom this knowledge' (KS-155)
- bolo ho jis ko tum 'whom you call' (KS-197)
- jinhō ke dil mē 'in whose heart' (DD-135)

Acc. singular and plurals:

- jnhē rovat gāī hai umr sārī 'whose whole life has
been spoiled in weeping' (BK-40)
- jise mārā bhālā 'whom he struck with spear' (AN-128)
- tū jise sapne mē dekhe 'whom you (sg.) see in the
dream' (QD-120)
- jise tū cāhe 'whom you (sg.) like' (DD-137)

(c) Distribution

1. The same relative pronouns are used throughout the OU and MU period. There is greater consistency in the forms.

2. The oblique form jīn is sometimes used without proposition ne, e.g. jīn kiya (Sl,MR), jīn rakhā (Gr,MR), jīn sikhāyā (DF-202) etc.

3. Relative pronouns are also used as adjective, e.g. jīn ghar mā (KE-53)

4. jo is singular and plural both. jīn, jīnh and jinh are also used as singular.

Note: sometimes the relative pronouns are repeated to give an indefinite or a distributive significance, e.g. jo jo (KE-67) jīn jīn (KM-306) etc.

(d) Origin

jo: There is no controversy regarding the origin of jo. It has developed from Sk. yah and Pr. jo.¹⁷

jīn: It has developed from Sk. yasya and Pr. jāssa.¹⁸

jīn: Its development took place on the following lines:

Sk. yasam > Pr. jāsam, jan > jīn, jīn, jīnh, jinh, jīn.

17. John T. Platts, op. cit., p. 120.

18. Ibid., p.121.

14.5 Correlative Pronoun

so 'he', 'she', 'it', 'that'.

(a) Declension

OU, eNU, LU

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Dir.	so	so
Obl.	tis, tin, tinhô	tin, tinhô
Acc.	tise, tinhê	tinhê

(b) Occurrence

The correlative pronoun generally accompanies the relative pronoun as its complement, e.g.

Dir. singular and plural:

-jo kuch xūb jāno so karyo, tuman 'whatever you
think is better, (that) you do
(AN-53)

-jo taqdīr mē hai so talnī nahī 'what is in the
fate, that is certain' (AN-76)

-jo cāho so leo 'take what you wish for' (QMD-4)

-jo tamāše mē mahā the so jānte the 'those who were
attracted by the sports, (they) knew it
(QMD-10)

-bahišt jo rūe zamīn pe sunā hai, so yehī hai 'the
paradise on the earth of which (I) have heard,
that is this' (QMD-24)

recognised in the CIA period. The neuter gender gradually disappeared in Apabhraṃśa. Like Urdu, Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi and Rajasthanī have also two genders. The neuter gender of Sanskrit became masculine in these languages. Genders are not recognised in the eastern languages like Bengali, Assamese and Oriya. In Marathi, Gujrati and Sinhalese the neuter gender has been preserved. The absence of gender in the eastern languages is due to the influence of the non-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages current in the east. These languages do not differentiate between masculine, feminine and neuter nouns.¹ The differentiation of three genders in Marathi and Gujrati is due to the influence of Dravidian languages while at the same time they also preserve an CIA conservatism.²

When Sanskrit nouns (in tatsama or tadbhava forms) were introduced into Urdu, whether masculine or feminine they retained their gender, but there are many exceptions given by S.H. Kellogg.³ Among the most common exceptions are the Sk. agni 'fire' (masc.) > Ur. āg (fem.) Sk. arai 'flame' (masc.) > Ur. āg (fem.), Sk. yāga 'adour' (masc.) > Ur. hāg (fem.) etc.

Gender is very important in Urdu. It is not only that nouns (larkā, karkī) are masculine and feminine but the distinction of gender is also made in adjectives (acchā, acchī), pronouns (mera, merī) genitives (kā, kī), verbs

1. S.K. Chatterji, The Origin and Development of Bengali Language, Vol. 2 p. 722.

2. *Ibid*, p. 723.

3. A Grammar of the Hindi Language (London, repr. 1955), p. 81.

(gayā, gāi) and auxiliaries (thā, thī; gā, gī) etc.

In Urdu gender is natural as well as grammatical. In CIA and LIA the gender was mainly grammatical. There is no grammatical gender in Persian.⁴ Natural gender in Persian is expressed by the use of different words such as maḥ (mas.) 'man' : zan (fem.) 'woman', padar (mas.) 'father' : mādar (fem.) 'mother' and by means of certain adjectives such as ma 'male' and mādah 'female' (in the case of animals), e.g. gāy-e-ma 'bull' : gāy-e-mādah 'cow', šer-e-ma 'lion' : šer-e-mādah 'lioness'. In the case of certain Arabic words the gender is expressed by the use of the -a or -at 'feminine marker' e.g., raḡas (mas.) 'dancer' : raḡasā (fem.) 'female dancer', malik (mas.) 'king' : malikā (fem.) 'queen' etc.

There are a number of examples in which Arabic feminines have changed into masculines in Old and Middle Urdu, e.g. āyat 'verse of the 'Qurān' (KK-59), taubā 'repentance' (AA-144) etc.

A large number of nouns in Urdu are originally masculine or feminine. But in some nouns the gender is expressed by adding suffixes.

1. Formation of Feminines from Masculines

Following are the most common suffixes which are added to form feminines from masculines.

4. J.A. Boyle, Grammar of Modern Persian, p.17.

1. -ī = It has developed from Sk. ika > IA ia. It is used to form feminine from masculine ending in -a, e.g.

- (a) nānī < nānā 'maternal grand father'
/nānī/ 'maternal grand mother' (KS-210)
- (b) ghorī < ghorā 'horse'
/ghorī/ 'mare' (KS-122)
- (c) betī < betā 'son'
/betī/ 'daughter' (KE-217)
- (d) phūphī < phūphā 'father's sister's husband'
/phūphī/ 'father's sister' (KK-217)
- (e) lāūdī < lāūdā 'boy'
/lāūdī/ 'slave girl' (KE-233)

2. -nī = It has developed from Sk. nī > Pr. nī as in:

- (a) hindunī < hindū 'Hindu'
/hindunī/ 'Hindu woman' (DF-208)
- (b) ḍonnī < ḍom 'sweeper'
/ḍonnī/ 'female sweeper' (KE-72)
- (c) nagnī < nāg 'serpent'
/nāgnī/ 'female serpent' (DF-238)
- (d) hathnī < hāthī 'elephant'
/hathnī/ 'female elephant' (KS-117)

3. -an or in = It has developed from Sk. -inī > Pr. inī > -nī > in > Ur. -an (-in), e.g.

- (a) dulhan < dūlhā 'bridegroom'
/dulhan/ 'bride' (KK-162)

(b) jogan < jogī 'ascetic'

/jogan/ 'wife of an ascetic' (DF-237)

(c) nāgan < nāg 'serpent'

/nāgan/ 'female serpent' (DF-237)

(d) tābolan < tābolī 'betel leaf seller'

/tābolan/ 'female betel leaf seller' (DF-240)

(e) sāpan < sūp 'snake'

/sāpan/ 'female snake' (SB-47)

4. -ī = It has developed from Sk. -ī, e.g.

(a) bandarī < bandar 'monkey'

/bandarī/ 'female monkey' (KS-183)

5. -iyā (-yā) = It has developed from Sk. -ikā > Pr. īā, e.g.

(a) cīryā < cīrā 'male sparrow'

/cīryā/ 'bird' (KS-200)

(b) budhiyā < budhā 'old man'

/budhiyā/ 'old woman' (KK-110)

6. -ānī = It has developed from Sk. -ānī Pr. -ānī, e.g.

(a) khatrānī < khatrī 'caste among Hindus'

/khatrānī/ 'wife of a khatrī Hindu' (DF-208)

7. -ā = It has developed from Arabic -at. It is added to Perso-Arabic words to form feminine from masculines, e.g.

(a) malūnā < malūn 'accursed'

/malūnā/ 'female accursed' (KK-82)

(b) mominā < momin 'pious Muslim'

/mominā/ 'pious (Muslim) woman' (KK-124)

(c) yatīmā < yatīm 'orphan'

/yatīmā/ 'female orphan' (KK-198)

(d) māsūnā < māsūm 'innocent'

/māsūnā/ 'female innocent' (KK-226)

Notes: -ā < Ar. -at is the most common termination in Karbal Kathā. In other texts this is quite rare.

2. List of Common words which are masculine

(A) Old Urdu

Bikat Kahani

/ghar/	'home'	(BK-34)
/piyalā/	'bowl'	(BK-35)
/sāthī/	'companion'	(BK-37)
/jā/	'soul'	(BK-47)

Ashur Nama

/fikar/	'thought'	(AN-37)
/aql/	'intellect'	(AN-37)
/ujālā/	'light'	(AN-37)
/hāth/	'hand'	(AN-41)
/hukm/	'order'	(AN-42)
/nida/	'voice'	(AN-69)
/sūraj/	'sun'	(AN-93)
/sazā/	'punishment'	(AN-94)
/vaqt/	'time'	(AN-117)

Harāsi-e-Bekhta

/gardū/ [~]	'sky'	(S1, MR)
/falak/	'sky'	(S1, JH)
/dunyā/	'world'	(JS, MR)
/anjuman/	'association'	(JS, MR)

Do Madin Masnaviyan

/nām/	'name'	(DM-103)
/byāh/	'marriage'	(DM-112)
/tan/	'body'	(DM-126)
/nida/	'voice'	(DM-127)
/sar/	'head'	(DM-129)
/mīt/	'friend'	(DM-131)
/xabar/	'news'	(DM-136)
/ārān/	'rest'	(DM-156)
/māh/	'month'	(DM-158)

(B) Early Middle Urdu

Jāfar Zataillī

/xatrā/	'danger'	(JB)
/bartan/	'utensil'	(JZ)

Divan-e-Faiz

/dil/	'heart'	(DF-199)
/khol/	'sport'	(DF-199)
/kam/	'work'	(DF-205)

/hār/	'garland'	(DF-215)
/xāk/	'dust'	(DF-228)
/dhāl/	'dust'	(DF-228)
/bīn/	'fear'	(DF-228)
/bāzār/	'market'	(DF-231)
/abr/	'cloud'	(DF-234)
/melā/	'fair'	(DF-234)
/dhol/	'drum'	(DF-235)

Karbal Kathā

/āyat/	'verse'	(KK-59)
/vahy/	'revelation,	(KK-93)
	voice'	
/dīn/	'day'	(KK-112)
/hōt/	'lip'	(KK-113)
/daraxt/	'tree'	(KK-122)
/qadam/	'step'	(KK-136)
/jān/	'soul'	(KK-139)
/dūdh/	'milk'	(KK-186)
/qatrā/	'drop'	(KK-188)

Issa-e-Mehrafroz-o-Dilbar

/darvāsā/	'door'	(MD-15)
/hoṣ/	'sense'	(MD-83)

/nāc/	'dance'	(GND-223)
/subh/	'morning'	(GND-229)
/gunāh/	'sin'	(GND-242)
/gussa/	'anger'	(GND-260)

Dīwān-e-Ābrū

/xurkīd/	'sun'	(DA-6)
/qissā/	'story'	(DA-8)
/jān/	'soul'	(DA-23)
/badan/	'body'	(DA-29)
/lahū/	'blood'	(DA-76)
/dard/	'pain'	(DA-161)

Dīwān-e-Shākir Nāil

/mūh/	'mouth'	(DSN-20)
/nūr/	'light'	(DSN-45)
/notī/	'pearl'	(DSN-46)
/zamānā/	'time'	(DSN-151)

(C) Late Middle Urdu

Kalām-e-Saudā

/masā/	'taste'	(KS-63)
/dhuwā/	'smoke'	(KS-71)
/bādāl/	'cloud'	(KS-71)
/vadā/	'promise'	(KS-92)
/zahr/	'poison'	(KS-126)

Kulliyāt-e-Mīr

/sāyā/	'shadow'	(KM-131)
/rū/	'face'	(KM-133)
/bāzār/	'market'	(KM-135)
/āshk/	'tear'	(KM-136)
/sabr/	'patience'	(KM-136)
/cāchan/	'garden'	(KM-152)
/abr/	'cloud'	(KM-182)
/ākh/	'eye'	(KM-263)
/pardā/	'curtain'	(KM-273)
/dard/	'pain'	(KM-292)

Dīwān-e-Darī

/ghamand/	'pride'	(DD-119)
/carāg/	'candle'	(DD-124)
/cehrā/	'face'	(DD-145)
/qāfilā/	'caravan'	(DD-171)

Sehr-ul-Hayāt

/azdahām/	'crowd'	(SB-21)
/gumbad/	'dome'	(SB-22)
/fan/	'art'	(SB-23)
/anwar/	'fruit'	(SB-30)
/naks/	'reflection'	(SB-31)

3. List of Common Words which are Feminine

(A) Old Urdu

Bikar Kahānī

/kahānī/	'story'	(BK-31)
/dārū/	'medicine'	(BK-31)
/āg/	'fire'	(BK-32)
/muddat/	'period'	(BK-35)
/bhik/	'alms'	(BK-35)
/ghatā/	'cloudiness'	(BK-37)
/āvās/	'voice'	(BK-38)
/rut/	'season'	(BK-44)
/kathā/	'story'	(BK-47)
/ummīd/	'hope'	(BK-46)
/rāt/	'night'	(BK-38)
/ākh/	'eye'	(BK-64)

Āshūr Nāma

/aql/	'intellect'	(AN-37)
/shāhidat/	'martyrdom'	(AN-57)
/xāk/	'earth'	(AN-70)

Harasī-e-Bekhta

/jān/	'life; soul'	(SI, MR)
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Do Gedia Maṣnavīyan

/bhūk/	'hunger'	(DGM-136)
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/tāat/	'obedience'	(D.N-152)
/uār/	'life'	(D.N-155)

(B) Early Middle Urdu

Jafar Zatallī

/gor/	'grave'	(J2)
/madh/	'praise'	(J2)
/lāj/	'shyness'	(J2)
/pīth/	'back'	(J2)
/dhāl/	'shield'	(J2)

Diwān-e-Fāis

/sāj̃h/	'evening'	(DF-195)
/kanar/	'vaist'	(DF-201)
/gat/	'gait'	(DF-208)
/talvār/	'sword'	(DF-217)
/hālat/	'condition'	(DF-218)
/pīrīt/	'love'	(DF-222)
/pāt/	'leaf'	(DF-224)

Marbāḥ Kathā

/bū/	'smell'	(KK-59)
/vasīyyat/	'will'	(KK-62)
/ajal/	'death'	(KK-62)
/rūh/	'soul'	(KK-66)
/ādat/	'habit'	(KK-66)

/xabar/	'news'	(KK-72)
/jagah/	'place'	(KK-136)
/šamāir/	'sword'	(KK-138)
/libās/	'dress'	(KK-140)
/jibh/	'tongue'	(KK-168)
/biḡlī/	'lightning'	(KK-172)

Diwan-e-Nehras-e-Dilbar

/būd/	'drop'	(OND-21)
/barf/	'snow'	(OND-22)
/rošnāi/	'light'	(OND-158)
/nadī/	'river'	(OND-191)
/subh/	'morning'	(OND-233)
/qatār/	'row'	(OND-235)
/tāqat/	'strength'	(OND-368)

Diwan-e-Abdu

/sūrat/	'face'	(DA-3)
/yād/	'remembrance'	(DA-11)
/jān/	'soul'	(DA-12)
/bāt/	'talk'	(DA-15)
/caḡz/	'eye'	(DA-27)

Diwan-e-Shakir Hall

/bahār/	'spring'	(DCH-3)
/dunj/	'wave'	(DCH-79)

/ghata/	'cloudiness'	(DSH-83)
/thokar/	'kick, stroke'	(DSH-97)

(C) Late Middle Urdu

Kalān-e-Saudā

/ulfat/	'love'	(KS-64)
/ḥart/	'condition'	(KS-66)
/dīvār/	'wall'	(KS-67)
/gāli/	'abuse'	(KS-92)
/eiz/	'thing'	(KS-131)
/nāḍ/	'sleep'	(KS-261)
/nai/	'wine'	(KS-268)
/rāh/	'way'	(KS-270)

Dullivāt-e-Nir

/tasvīr/	'picture'	(KM-264)
/gor/	'grave'	(KM-303)
/chātī/	'chest'	(KM-309)
/ḥāz/	'branch'	(KM-315)
/ārsū/	'wish'	(KM-325)
/āḡ/	'fire'	(KM-776)
/bulbul/	'nightingale'	(KM-777)

Dīwān-e-Dard

/tārīf/	'Praise'	(DD-119)
/ḥabnaḥ/	'dew'	(DD-133)

/cindagī/	'life'	(DL-151)
/girah/	'knot'	(DL-157)
/xalq/	'people'	(DD-160)
/daulat/	'wealth'	(DL-167)
/balā/	'calmity'	(DD-168)

Behr-ul-Bayān

/sada/	'voice'	(GL-33)
/niṣāh/	'sight'	(SE-34)
/dur/	'pearl'	(SE-73)
/jān/	'soul'	(SE-78)

12.3 Number

The number in Urdu has developed from two main sources, viz., Indo-Aryan and Perso-Arabic. In DIA there were three numbers — singular, dual and plural. The dual number disappeared in the beginning of the FIA period and the idea of duality came to be expressed by the word dui 'two' which accompanied the plural form. In Ashokan edicts there occur the phrases like duye maṭulā⁵ and duye porā⁶ 'two peacocks' which indicate that the dual number did not

5. G.H. Tivari, Hindī Bhāṣhā kā Udcay aur Vikāś, p.433.

6. G.V. Tagore, Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa, p.106.

exist even in early Prakrit. In Apabhramsa also the duality was expressed by the use of the numeral 'two', the following noun being plural in number⁷. Like .IA, the NIA languages have also only two numbers.

The dual number existed in Arabic but it was not adopted by Urdu during the course of its development. In Urdu we come across with words like imāmain 'Hasan and Hussain', lit. 'the two Imāms' (AM-56) etc. ending in -ain 'dual marker'. Such words are lexical borrowings from Arabic and are quite few in number. They have no organic connection with the language. In Old and Middle Urdu there are only two numbers, viz. singular and plural. Singular denotes one and plural more than one.

The formation of number depends on the forms of case. Nouns are modified to express numbers according to their cases.

12.3.1. Formation of Plurals

(1) Formation of Plurals in Direct case

The formation of plural in Old and Middle Urdu in direct case depends on the termination and gender of the singular. The following main terminations are employed to form plural in the direct case.

7. Ibid., p. 106.

1. Zero termination

2. The termination -e3. The termination -ē4. The termination -ā5. The Termination ~

1. Zero Termination

There are many masculine nouns which have the same forms in plural when used in direct case, e.g.

<u>Dir. Sg.</u>		<u>Dir. Pl.</u>	
nain	'eye'	: nain	(BK-42)
sīt	'friend'	: LIt	(BK-57)
phūl	'flower'	: phūl	(BK-58)
nabī	'prophet'	: nabī	(AN-35)
bāl	'hair'	: bāl	(AN-40)
tīr	'arrow'	: tīr	(AN-112)
ratan	'gem'	: ratan	(DI-232)
pāt	'leave'	: pāt	(DF-240)
dāt	'teeth'	: dāt	(DF-241)
seb	'apple'	: seb	(KK-122)
jigar	'liver'	: jigar	(KK-202)
duśman	'enemy'	: duśman	(KK-203)
saxm	'wound'	: saxm	(KK-200)
ūt	'camel'	: ūt	(KK-240)
āsū	'tear'	: āsū	(DAN-4)

<u>Dir. Sg.</u>		<u>Dir. Pl.</u>	
din	'day'	: din	(D.M-137)
hāthī	'elephant'	: hāthī	(D.M-150)
mard	'man'	: mard	(MD-11)
dil	'heart'	: dil	(DA-106)
cor	'thief'	: cor	(SB-9)
daryā	'river'	: daryā	(SB-91)

2. The Termination -e

This termination has developed from OIA abhih.
 IA ahi > ai > e⁰. Tadbhava and Perso-Arabic masculines
 ending in -ā as in larkā 'a boy', pardā 'a curtain', gissā
 'a story' form the plural in direct case by changing -ā
 into -e, e.g.

<u>Dir. Sg.</u>		<u>Dir. Pl.</u>	
sitārā	'star'	: sitāre	(DF-230)
farištā	'angel'	: farište	(AN-47)
ghorā	'horse'	: ghore	(AN-91)
baccā	'child'	: bace	(KK-10)
cacā	'uncle'	: cace	(KK-268)
tārā	'star'	: tāre	(MD-30)
mahīnā	'month'	: mahīne	(SB-20)
pardā	'curtain'	: parde	(SB-24)

Dir. Sg.Dir. Pl.

fauvārā	'fountain'	:	fauvāre	(SB-80)
caśmā	'stream'	:	caśme	(SB-91)
larkā	'boy'	:	larke	(KK-162)

3. The Termination -ē

It has developed from the Sanskrit neuter gender plural suffix -āni. Sk. -āni changed in MIA into -āi⁹. In Urdu -āi became -ē. The tadbhava and Perso-Arabic feminines ending in a consonant form the plural in direct case by adding the termination -ē e.g.

Dir. Sg.Dir. Pl.

ākh	'eye'	:	ākhē	(DF-241)
musibat	'miseric'	:	musibatē	(KK-65)
āt	'intestine'	:	ātē	(KK-101)
bahen	'sister'	:	bahnē	(KK-135)
rūh	'soul'	:	rūhē	(KK-194)
eūrat	'woman'	:	eūratē	(MD-11)
cīlh	'kite'	:	cīlhē	(MD-14)
mūrat	'offisy'	:	mūratē	(KS-75)
eūrat	'fame'	:	eūratē	(KS-75)
īt	'brick'	:	ītē	(J2)
bāt	'talk'	:	bātē	(KS-150)
chat	'roof'	:	chatē	(SB-24)
bulbul	nightingale:	:	bubulē	(SB-27)

9. U.M. Tivari, Hindī Bhāṣa ke Urdan aur Vikāṣ, p.436.

Sometimes the termination \tilde{a} is added also to the feminine nouns ending in \tilde{i} . The \tilde{i} shortened before the added termination. The \tilde{y} is inserted occasionally between \tilde{i} and \tilde{a} . e.g.

sakhī 'female friend' : sakhī(y) \tilde{a} (MD-28)

4. The Termination \tilde{a}

Like \tilde{e} , the termination \tilde{a} has also developed from the \tilde{a} . But in \tilde{a} \tilde{a} is changed into \tilde{a} .¹⁰

The \tilde{a} only appears as nominative plural in Chauraseni Prakrit. The same form was adopted by Urdu. The tadbhava and Perso-Arabic feminines ending in consonant as well as \tilde{i} and \tilde{u} form the plural in direct case by adding \tilde{a} to the singular, and the final vowel \tilde{i} or \tilde{u} being shortened regularly before it. Occasionally \tilde{y} is inserted between \tilde{i} and the termination and \tilde{y} between \tilde{u} and the termination following are examples from the different texts:

(a) Direct singular ending in consonant:

<u>Dir. Sg.</u>		<u>Dir. Pl.</u>	
sair	'excursion':	sair \tilde{a}	(BK-57)
dhāp	'sunshine' :	dhāp \tilde{a}	(BK-61)
lat	'lock of hair'	lat \tilde{a}	(DP-241)

10. Ibid, p.436.

11. S.H. Kellogge, A Grammar of the Hindi Language, p.128.

Dir. Sg.Dir. Pl.

nain	'eye'	:	nainā̃	(M-248)
āshiq	'lover'	:	āshiqā̃	(ST-206)
aurat	'woman'	:	auratā̃	(D M-107)
hūr	'Houri'	:	hūrā̃	(D M-122)
vazīr	'minister'	:	vazīrā̃	(D M-151)
zālim	'tyrant'	:	zālimā̃	(AN-81)
pakhāl	'leather bag for carrying water'	:	pakhālā̃	(AN-93)
tifl	'child'	:	tiflā̃	(AN-101)

Note: Besides its origin in OIA and .IA, the termination -ā̃ in Old Urdu has also developed from Persian. It is profusely used in Dakni Urdu in both the direct and oblique cases. No distinction of masculine and feminine is made in the use of this termination. It is also found in Panjabi, Haryani and Rajasthani.

(b) Direct Singular ending in -ī̃ :

Dir. Sg.Dir. Pl.

sakhī	'female friend'	:	sakhīā̃ ⁽⁹⁾	(BK-39)
nārī	'woman'	:	nārīyā̃ [~]	(BK-47)

<u>Dir. Sg.</u>		<u>Dir. Pl.</u>	
pickārī	'syringe'	pickārī(y)ā̃	(EK-55)
saxtī	'difficulty'	saxtī(y)ā̃	(AK-60)
murgābī	'duck'	murgābī(y)ā̃	(KK-85)
phūphī	'father's sister'	phūphī(y)ā̃	(EK-164)
haddī	'bone'	haddī(y)ā̃	(KK-179)
dukhyārī	'afflicted' one'	dukhyārī(y)ā̃	(KK-216)
navāśī	'daughter's daughter'	navāśī(y)ā̃	(KK-240)
qumrī	'turtle dove'	qumrī(y)ā̃	(SB-26)
dālī	'branch'	dālī(y)ā̃	(SB-91)
parī	'fairly'	parī(y)ā̃	(MD-28)
kālī	'bud'	kālī(y)ā̃	(MMJK-198)

(c) Direct Singular ending in -ā̃:

<u>Dir. Sg.</u>		<u>Dir. Pl.</u>	
lū	'hot wind'	lū(v)ā̃	(EK-61)

5. The Termination ~

The nasalization is also a termination used in the formation of plural of certain feminine nouns which end in -ī, e.g.

<u>Dir. Sg.</u>		<u>Dir. Pl.</u>	
parī	'fairy'	parī̃	(MD-26)
lakrī	'wood'	lakrī̃	(MD-79)

(11) Formation of Plurals in Oblique Case

Plurals in Old and Middle Urdu in oblique are formed by adding the following terminations:

1. The termination -ō
2. The termination -ā
3. The termination -an

1. The Termination -ō

It has developed from Sk. apa > Pr. apa, apa. From apa it developed into ā¹² and in Urdu it became ō. All tadbhava and Perso-Arabic nouns whether masculine or feminine are made plural in oblique case, except in the vocative, by adding the termination -ō. If the noun inflects to -a in the oblique singular, the termination -ō is substituted for the final vowel. If the noun ends in -ī or -ū, the long vowels are shortened. The -y¹³ is inserted before the termination in the case of -ī and occasionally -y in the case of -ū. Examples are as follow:

(a) Oblique singulars ending in consonants:

<u>Obli. Sg.</u>		<u>Obli. Pl.</u>	
<u>hāth</u>	'hand'	: <u>hāthō</u>	(D. 1-110)
<u>ākh</u>	'eye'	: <u>ākhō</u>	(D. 2-120)
<u>pevand</u>	'joint'	: <u>pevando</u>	(D. 4-125)
<u>behišt</u>	'heaven'	: <u>behištō</u>	(D. 5-166)

12. Ibid., p. 128.

13. E.H. Kellogg calls it the euphonic y.

Obli. Ss.Obli. Pl.

gunāh	'sin'	:	gunāhō	(AN-35)
dost	'friend'	:	dostō	(AN-36)
tifl	'child'	:	tiflō	(AN-47)
duśman	'enemy'	:	duśmanō	(AN-60)
aurat	'woman'	:	auratō	(AN-65)
garīb	'poor'	:	garībō	(BK-51)
phūl	'flower'	:	phūlō	(BK-58)
lab	'lip'	:	labō	(BK-62)
yatīm	'orphan'	:	yatīmō	(S1, KR)
kāfir	'infidel'	:	kāfirō	(S1, KR)
nain	'eye'	:	nainō	(DF-196)
āśiq	'lover'	:	āśiqō	(DF-196)
śāhzādā	'prince'	:	śāhzādō	(JZ)
farsand	'child'	:	farsandō	(KK-60)
bāl	'hair'	:	bālō	(KK-74)
zakhm	'wound'	:	zakhmō	(KK-84)
phūl	'flower'	:	phūlō	(MD-20)
jahāz	'ship'	:	jahāzō	(MD-66)
hāth	'hand'	:	hāthō	(MD-72)
mariz	'patient'	:	marizō	(KS-137)
cañm	'eye'	:	cañmō	(DSN-60)
masjid	'mosque'	:	masjidō	(DSN-135)
dil	'heart'	:	dilō	(DS-9)

Obli. Sg.Obli. Pl.

gāl 'cheek' : gālō (DA-45)

(b) Oblique Singulars ending in -g:

Obli. Sg.Obli. Pl.

qissac 'story' : qissō (AN-43)

kandhe 'shoulder' : kandhō (AN-48)

bete 'son' : betō (AN-76)

patte 'leaf' : pattō (AN-87)

larke 'boys' : larkō (AN-117)

fariōte 'angel' : fariōtō (D.M-123)

śāhzade 'prince' : śāhzadō (KK-67)

ghore 'horse' : ghorō (KK-112)

bhaūre 'black' : bhaūrō (L.D-39)

bee'

jhare[~] 'cascade' : jharnō (L.D-59)

kapre 'cloth' : kaprō (DA-24)

kutte 'dog' : kuttō (KB-124)

cane 'gram' : canō (K.-184)

(c) Oblique Singulars ending in -i:

Obli. Sg.Obli. Pl.

unglī 'finger' : ungli(y)ō (DA-14)

betī 'daughter' : beti(y)ō (L.D-120)

nabī 'prophet' : nabi(y)ō (AN-35)

<u>Obl. Sg.</u>		<u>Obl. Pl.</u>	
bakrī	'goat'	bakri(y)ô	(AK-106)
nārī	'woman'	nāri(y)ô	(BK-43)
ākhi ¹⁴	'eye'	ākhi(y)ô	(DP-199)
dhobī	'washerman'	dhobi(y)ô	(KB-124)
bāvarcī	'cook'	bāvarci(y)ô	(AB-148)
gālī	'lane'	gālī(y)ô	(KE-295)
randī ¹⁵	'woman'	randī(y)ô	(KK-96)
bhāī	'brother'	bhāi(y)ô	(KK-102)
hāthī	'elephant'	hāthi(y)ô	(LB-33)

(d) Oblique Singulars ending in \bar{a} :

<u>Obl. Sg.</u>		<u>Obl. Pl.</u>	
āsū	'tear'	āsu(u)ô	(BK-30)
bicchū	'scorpion'	bichu(u)ô	(BK-54)

(e) Oblique Singulars ending in \bar{a} :

<u>Obl. Sg.</u>		<u>Obl. Pl.</u>	
dānā	'wise (man)'	dānāô	(WD-61)
balā	'calamity'	balāô	(K-123)
davā	'medicine'	davāô	(KP-134)
adā	'coquetry'	adāô	(SB-22)

2. The Termination \bar{a}

It has developed from the same source as that of

14. Sk. akṣi 'eye'.

15. In Modern Urdu, randī 'prostitute'.

the -ā of direct case. A number of taḍbhava and Perso-Arabic nouns whether masculine or feminine in Old and early Middle Urdu form their parallels in oblique case, by adding the termination -ā. The form -ā however was completely replaced by -ō in the late Middle Urdu. Examples are -

(a) Oblique singulars ending in consonants:

<u>Oblique Sg.</u>		<u>Oblique Pl.</u>	
gunāh	'sin'	gunāhā	(DJK-104)
bahīšt	'paradise'	bahīštā	(DJK-109)
buxār	'fever'	buxārā	(DJK-122)
imām	'the Imam'	imāmā	(DJK-136)
surail	'prophet'	surailā	(AH-35)
ādiq	'lover'	ādiqā	(DJK-199)
lab	'lip'	labā	(DJK-229)
hāt(h)	'hand'	hātā	(DJK-229)
dāt	'tooth'	dātā	(DJK-229)
koel	'cuckoo'	koelā	(DJK-215)
nain	'eye'	nainā	(DJK-331)
hōt	'lip'	hōtā	(DJK-240)
bhāv	'eye brow'	bhāvā	(DJK-46)
ākḥ	'eye'	ākḥā	(DJK-297)
ghāv	'wound'	ghāvā	(DJK-113)
ūt	'camel'	ūtā	(DJK-218)
bāt	'talk'	bātā	(DJK-234)

(b) Oblique singulars ending in -ī :

<u>Obli. Sg.</u>		<u>Obli. Pl.</u>	
† ākhi	'eye'	: ākhi(y)ā̃	(LD-206)
bhaṅgi	'sweeper'	: bhaṅgi(y)ā̃	(LF-235)
motī	'pearl'	: moti(y)ā̃	(LF-240)

(c) Oblique singular ending in -ū:

<u>Obli. Sg.</u>		<u>Obli. Pl.</u>	
abrū	'eyebrow'	: abru(v)ā̃	(LA-8)
ā̃jhu ¹⁶	'tear'	: ā̃jhu(v)ā̃	(LA-192)

3. The Termination -an

It is an important plural termination in Braj Bhasa. Like -ā̃, the termination -an has also developed from the Sanskrit form -ānām. Its development can be shown as follows: Sk. ānām (ghoṭakānām) > Pr. -ānan (ghoṭakānana) > Braj -ana (ghoṭāna) > (ghoran). Under the influence of Braj certain words in Urdu form their plurals in oblique case^{by} adding -an, e.g.

<u>Obli. Sg.</u>		<u>Obli. Pl.</u>	
ākhi	'eye'	: ākhan	(MD-119)
dost	'friend'	: dostan	(MD-111)
pag	'foot'	: pagan	(NK-49)

† Sk. aksī 'eye'
16. Sk. asru 'tear.'

(iii) Formation of Plurals in Vocative Case

Plurals in vocative case are formed by means of the following terminations:

1. The termination -o

2. The termination -ā

1. The Termination -o

According to E.H. Kellogg, the form -o is the denasalised form of the oblique plural termination -ō¹⁷ developed from Pr. āpām > Sk. ānām. But its development can be shown as follows: (a) Sk. voc. sg. -ah (devah) > Pr. voc. sg. -o (devo) > Ap. voc. sg. -o (vīro). (b) Sk. voc. pl. -āh (bālakāh) > Ap. voc. pl. -aho (vīrāho), -aho (vīraho).¹⁸

All tadbhava and Perso-Arabic nouns whether masculine or feminine form plurals in vocative case by adding the termination -o. No postpositions are used in vocative. A noun in vocative is generally preceded by ai (e) 'O' But sometimes it is dropped also. Examples are:

Voc. Sg.

sakhī

'friend (fem.)'

jośī

'astrologer'

Voc. Pl

sakhi(y)o (BK-31)

jośi(y)o (BK-44)

1. A Grammar of the Hindi Language, p. 99.

2. Shola Nath Tiwari, Hindi Bhasha, p. 163.

Voc. Sg.Voc. Pl.

bulbul	'nightingale':	bulbulo	(Ht, JSII-245)
anadlib	'nightingale':	andalibo	(Ht, JSII-252)
log	'people' :	logo	(KK-164)
musalmān	'the Muslim' :	musalmāno	(AN-176)

Note: Sometimes the termination -o is nasalised in Old Urdu.

2. Termination -ā

In Old and early Middle Urdu the vocative plural and is also formed by the termination -ā. It has developed from the same source as that of the -ā of the direct and oblique cases. Examples are -

Voc. Sg.Voc. Pl.

dost	'friend'	: dostā	(S, DR)
sāme	'audience'	: sāmeā	(SI, DR)
muhib	'friend'	: muhibbā	(KK-7)
hāzīr	'that present'	: hāzīrā	(KK-15)
ummat	'body of believer'	: ummatā	(KK-240)
mu'min	'believer'	: mu'minā	(AN-187)

12.3.2 Perso-Arabic Plurals

The plurals of Perso-Arabic words are generally formed according to the rules of the Urdu grammar. But there is no dearth of Perso-Arabic nouns which form their plurals according to the Perso-Arabic grammatic^l rules.

(1) Persian Plurals

These are the plurals which are formed according to the rules of the Persian grammar. Mainly there are two plural terminations in Persian: -ān and -hā. The plurals formed by -ān are very common in Old and Middle Urdu. But they are restricted to the Persian genitive compounds. In Urdu when the plurals ending in -ān are used separately the form -ān is changed into -ā. Throughout the Old Urdu period (especially the Old Urdu of the Deccan), the -ā has been the most important plural termination in both the direct and oblique cases. The examples of the plurals ending in -hā are very few in number.

(a) Plurals ending in -ān:

SK.		Pl.
birādar	'Brother'	birādarān (KK-36)
sākin	'dweller'	sākinān (KK-46)

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>	
shahīd	'martyr'	: shahīdān	(KH-485)
murg	'bird'	: murgān	(KH-485)
yār	'friend'	: yaran	(KH-487)
hāzīr	'that present'	: hāzīrān	(KH-83)
busurg	'elder'	: busurgan	(KH-88)
dušman	'enemy'	: dušmanan	(KH-98)

(b) Plurals ending in -hā:

<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>	
lab	'lip'	: labhā	(DA-197)
ma'nī	'meaning'	: mānihā	(KS-196)
dīdā	'eye'	: dīdahā	(KH-483)
cašm	'eye'	: cašhā	(S, SR)
ja'ā	'oppression'	: ja'āhā	(SR, LR)
qatrā	'drop'	: qatrāhā	(SI, SR)
hašār	'thousand'	: hašārha	(DD-135)

(ii) Arabic Plurals

A large number of Arabic words in Urdu form their plurals according to the rules of the Arabic Grammar. Arabic plurals can be classified in two groups: "sound" plurals formed by adding termination to the singular form and "broken"¹⁹ plurals formed by altering the vowel-pattern of the singular.

¹⁹. The terms "sound" and "broken" have been used by John A. Boyle, of, Grammar of Modern Persian, p. 19.

A. Sound plurals:

(a) Plurals ending in -īn:

<u>مفرد</u>		<u>جمع</u>	
nursal	'prophet'	nursalīn	(KK-1)
ālam	'universe'	ālamīn	(KK-6)
munin	'believer'	muninīn	(KK-11)

(b) Plurals ending in -āt:

<u>مفرد</u>		<u>جمع</u>	
makhūq	'creature'	makhūqāt	(KK-73)
inām	'reward'	ināmāt	(KK-62)
tilism	'spell'	tilismāt	(KK-67)
tahqīq	'research'	tahqīqāt	(KK-109)

B. Broken plurals: The following are examples of the broken plurals most commonly used in Urdu:

(a)	<u>مفرد</u>		<u>جمع</u>	
	nurat	'woman'	nurāt	(KK-47)
	balārat	'revelation'	balārat	(KK-67)
	hikāyat	'tale'	hikāyat	(KK-92)
	imarat	'building'	imārāt	(KK-118)
(b)	amāj	'wave'	amāj	(KK-48)
	rūh	'soul'	arvāh	(KK-78)
	tifl	'child'	atfāl	(KK-154)
	qisr	'kind'	aqṣām	(KK-166)
	falak	'sky'	aflāk	(KK-244)

	<u>Si.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>	
(c)	ḥusn	'attribute'	: ḥaḥāsīn	(KK-83)
	ṣaḥīḥ	'the Shaikh'	: ṣaḥāḥ	(SB-21)
(d)	ḥabīb	'lover'	: ḥaḥbāq	(DE-211)
(e)	nabī	'prophet'	: anḥiyā	(KK-203)
	ṣaḥīḥ	'saint'	: aḥliyā	(KK-203)
(f)	malak	'angel'	: malāḥ	(KK-53)
	ḥalq	'creation'	: ḥalḥaq	(KS-187)
(g)	tāyir	'bird'	: tayūr	(SB-83)

12.3.3 Plural of Plural

In Harbal Kathā and in certain other texts there are plurals which again form their plurals, e.g.

<u>Pl.</u>		<u>Pl. of Pl.</u>	
uḥalā	'wise(men)'	: uḥalāḥ	(KK-19)
maḥāḥ	'sufferings'	: maḥāḥḥ	(KK-46)
ahādīḥ	'narrations'	: ahādīḥḥ	(KK-51)
aḥāb	'companions'	: aḥābḥ	(KK-59)
ḥuḥadā	'martyrs'	: ḥuḥadāḥ	(KK-199)
aqrabā	'relatives'	: aqrabāḥ	(KK-243)
muslimīn	'the Muslims'	: muslimīnḥ	(KK-144)

12.3.4. Plurals used as singulars

The following are examples of the plurals which have been used as singulars in the texts analysed:

PlUsed as S.C.

ahvāl	'conditions'	:	ahvāl	(KS-97)
ashāb	'companions'	:	ashāb	(KK-229)
aqrabā	'relatives'	:	aqrabā	(KK-219)

Note: ahval has been frequently used as singular in the texts like DM, KS and KK.

12.3.5. Duals

Certain Arabic duals ending in ain 'two' are also found in Urdu, e.g.

PlPl

kaun	'world'	:	kaunain	'the two worlds, this world and the next world'	(KK-15)
ain	'eye'	:	ainain	'two eyes'	(KK-37)
imām	'the Imam'	:	imāmain	'two Imams'	(KK-401)
nāl	'shoe'	:	nālānā	'two or both the shoes'	(KS-37)

12.3.6 List of Plural Terminations *

The following is the complete list of terminations used to form plurals in direct, oblique and vocative cases in Old and Middle Urdu.

Dir.	Ø, -e, -ē, -ā, ~	
Obl.	-ā, -ō, -an	
Voc.	-ā,	-o

* For full forms, see Table No.1.

T A B L E - 1

COMPLETE
LIST OF VOCAL TERMINATIONS
IN
OLD AND MODERN URDU
(with full forms)

Direct:-

1. ϕ (āmī 'tears', phūl 'flowers')
2. -e (larke 'boys')
3. -ē (havāē 'winds', rātē 'nights')
4. -ā (sakhi(y)ā 'friends', ūtā 'carrels')
5. ~ (parī 'fairies')

Oblique:-

6. -ō (larkō 'boys', bāthō 'hands')
7. -ā (moti(y)ā 'pearls', ākhā 'eye')
8. -an(dostan 'friends')

Vocative:-

9. -o (larko 'boys', dosto 'friend')
10. -ā (sāmā 'listeners', hāzirā 'those present')

12.3.7 Distribution of Plural Terminations

in CU, MU and LU

	Dir.	Obl.	Voc.
CU:	Ø -o, - <u>ā</u> , - <u>ā̃</u>	- <u>ō</u> , - <u>ā̃</u> , -an	-o, - <u>ā̃</u>
MU:	Ø -o, - <u>ā</u> , - <u>ā̃</u>	- <u>ō</u> , - <u>ā̃</u> , -an	-o, - <u>ā̃</u>
LU:	Ø -o, - <u>ā</u> , - <u>ā̃</u>	- <u>ō</u>	-o

Note: The nasalisation as plural termination occurs only in MU. The occurrence of -ā̃, after the nouns ending in consonants in direct case is very limited. -ā̃ occurs freely in oblique case in Old and early Middle Urdu. It disappears in late Middle Urdu and -ā̃ (dir. pl.), -ō (obl. pl.) and -o (voc. pl.) are fully established, at the expense of -ā̃ of dir. obl. and voc. plural. The -a in LU continues to occur with those plurals whose singulars end in the vowel -ī. The plural termination -an borrowed from Braj is found in a handful of words mostly used in oblique case. The voc. pl. termination -o is sometimes nasalized in Old Urdu. On the contrary the obl. pl. -ō is sometimes densenalized in the same period.

12.4 Case

In OIA there were eight cases, namely, nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative. Each case had three forms -- singular, dual and plural making the total number of forms

(of noun) as twenty-four. In OIA, the OI cases were simplified and reduced upto the great extent. The number of cases in Apabhramśa was reduced to three as the nominative and accusative were identified, the instrumental merged into locative and the ablative and the dative-genitive became one.²⁰ According to G.V. Tagare as a matter of fact there were three and sometimes (in Fem. stems) practically two cases in Apabhramśa — the direct and the oblique.²¹

In Old and Middle Urdu we distinguish three cases, namely, the direct, oblique and vocative. Urdu recognises only the singular and the plural. Thus the twenty four forms of OIA are reduced in Urdu to only six. Of these six, some forms come in more than one case, for instance, larka 'a boy' is common with both oblique and vocative singular, similarly larkī 'a girl' is common with all the three cases — direct, oblique and vocative singular.

12.4.1 Terminations of Cases*

(a) Old and early Middle Urdu

(1) With Stems ending in Vowels

	Dir.	Ob.	Voc.
	Ø	Ø	Ø -a, -ā, -ē, ~

20. G.V. Tagare, op. cit., p. 104.

21. Ibid., p. 104.

* For full forms, see Table No.2.

	<u>SGs</u>	<u>PLs</u>
Obl.	Ø, -e	-ō, -ā̃
Voc.	Ø, -e	-o, -ā̃

(11) With Stems ending in Consonants

	<u>SGs</u>	<u>PLs</u>
Dir.	Ø	Ø, -ē̃, -ā̃
Obl.	Ø	-ō̃, -ā̃, -an
Voc.	Ø	-o, -ā̃,

(b) Late Middle Urdu

(1) With Stems ending in Vowels

	<u>SGs</u>	<u>PLs</u>
Dir.	Ø	Ø, -ē̃, -ā̃, -e
Obl.	Ø, -e	-ō̃
Voc.	Ø	-o

(11) With Stems ending in Consonants

	<u>SGs</u>	<u>PLs</u>
Dir.	Ø	Ø, -ē̃
Obl.	Ø	-ō̃
Voc.	Ø	-o

Note 1 : The occurrence of the voc. pl. termination -ā̃ with stems ending in vowel is sporadic and restricted to the nouns of the Perso-Arabic origin.

T A B L E - 2

CASE TERMINATIONS

IN

OLD AND MIDDLE URDU

(with full forms)

(a) With Stems ending in Vowels:

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Direct:-		
OU, eMU, lMU:	Ø (āsū, nabī)	Ø (āsū, nabī)
OU, eMU, lMU:	Ø (laṛkā, ghorā)	-e (laṛke, ghore)
OU, eMU, lMU:	Ø (sakhī, nārī)	-ā (sakhī(y)ā, nārī(y)ā)
OU, eMU, lMU:	Ø (balā, havā)	-ē (balāē, havāē)
eMU:	Ø (ḷkrī, parī)	~ (lakrī, parī)
Oblique:-		
OU, eMU, lMU:	Ø (laṛkī, āsū)	-ō (laṛki(y)ō, āsu(v)ō)
OU, eMU, lMU:	-e (laṛke, ghore)	-ō (laṛkō, ghoro)
OU, eMU:	Ø (motī, bhangī)	-ā (motī(y)ā, bhangī(y)ā)
Vocative:-		
OU, eMU, lMU:	Ø (laṛkī, sakhī)	-o (laṛki(y)o, sakhī(y)o)
OU, eMU, lMU:	-e (laṛke, ghore)	-o (laṛko, ghoro)
eMU:	Ø (sāme)	-ā (sāmeā)

Contd....

(a) With stems ending in Consonants:

Direct

Oblique

Direct:

CU, e. U, l. U:	Ø (phūl, tīr)	Ø (phūl, tīr)
CU, e. U, l. U:	Ø (ākh, aurat)	-ē (ākhē, auratē)
CU, e. U:	Ø (dhūp, ūṭ)	-ā (dhūpā, ūṭā)

Oblique:-

CU, e. U, l. U:	Ø (hāth, dost)	-ō (hāthō, dostō)
CU, e. U:	Ø (lab, hōṭ)	-ā (labā, hōṭā)
CU, e. U:	Ø (dost, pag)	-an (dostan, pagan)

Vocative:-

CU, e. U, l. U:	Ø (bulbul, dost)	-o (bulbulo, dosto)
CU, e. U:	Ø (hāzir, monin)	-ā (hāzirā, moninā)

Note 2 : The -ā as the termination of the dir. pl. occurs with a small number of Perso-Arabic and tadbhava nouns ending in consonants and completely disappears in L.U.

Note 3 : The termination -an occurs only in oblique case hardly with half a dozen of words in the texts like BK, DAK and RD.

Note 4 : The -ā in oblique case (pl.) is hardly found in late Middle Urdu and strictly limited to Perso-Arabic nouns ending in consonants.

12.4.2 Postpositions²²

A noun in oblique case is used with certain particles which are placed after it and hence called postpositions. The noun in direct case is used without any postpositions. The vocative case also takes no postpositions but a variety of interjections may be used before it.

In CIA the relationships which existed between a noun and other words in the sentence was expressed by case endings which were synthetically attached to the nouns and acted as their parts. In Urdu however these relationships came to be expressed by "help words" which

22. The detailed study of postpositions has been made in the section postpositions and prepositions.

remain separate from nouns and are termed as postpositions. The postpositions which are used in Old and Middle Urdu in the place of case endings are as follows:

ne (nē)	'by'	for the Agent ²³
kā, kī, ke	'of'	" Genitive
ko (kū)	'to', 'for'	" Dative
se (sē, cū, setī)	'from'	
	'with', 'by'	" Ablative
nē (nū, nane, nanē),		
par, tak (talak, lag)	'in', 'on'	
	'to'	" Locative

23. The instrumental case of Sanskrit.

CHAPTER 13

ADJECTIVES

13.1. Classes of Adjectives

Adjectives in Old and Middle Urdu may be classed under the three main heads, viz, qualitative, pronominal and numeral.

13.1.1. Qualitative Adjectives¹

A qualitative adjective describes the condition of a thing. It shows what quality or in what state persons or things are. An adjective generally precedes the noun it qualifies, but in Old and early Middle Urdu this rule is not strictly followed. Following are examples of the qualitative adjectives:

-bikaṭ morī kahānī 'terrible story of mine' (BK-31)

-sundar piyā 'handsome lover' (BK-40)

-nāe kapre 'new clothes' (AN-44)

-lāl sārī 'red sari' (LF-213)

-tirchī nazrā- 'looking askance' (LF-213)

-pyāse halaq par 'on the thirsty throat' (Z-61)

-chote bhāī 'the younger brother' (KK-124)

-barā bhāī 'the elder brother' (KK-124)

-nek san 'gentle woman' (KK-125)

-ai pyāre cād 'O dear moon' (KK-124)

-daraxt purānā 'old tree' (KK-122)

-sidaḥā hāth merā 'my right hand' (KK-170)

¹. There are also called Descriptive adjectives.

- rāt ādherī 'the dark night' (KS-55)
- bhārī patthar 'heavy stone' (K-524)
- gorā badan 'fair skinned body' (UB-31)
- tālāb barā- 'big tank' (LD-23)
- acche ādal kā 'of good :an' (LD-262)

13.1.2. Pronominal Adjectives

Almost all pronouns can be used as adjectives if they qualify nouns following or preceding² them, e.g.

- merī kahnāī 'my story' (BK-31)
- voḥ sarāñā 'that age' (K-75)
- kyā daul̥t 'what wealth' (LA-34)
- vadā terā 'your promise' (KK-48)
- habīb mere 'my friend' (KK-61)
- us waqt 'at that time' (KK-83)
- is mahīne se 'from this month' (KK-83)
- kaun waqt 'what time' (KK-89)
- in rātō 'these nights' (KK-89)
- merā duṣṭan 'my enemy' (KK-93)
- kaisā pānī 'what water' (KK-100)
- in akhan me 'in these eyes' (LD-119)
- jo jānvar 'those animals' (LD-160)
- yeh zabar- 'this news' (LD-210)
- kīte dinō 'many days' (LD-211)

2. In Old and early Middle Urdu sometimes the noun precedes the adjective.

-aur javāb 'other reply' (MD-215)

-apne ghar '(to) his home' (MD-222)

-aisī bīn 'such late' (MD-224)

-kal sāl 'many years' (SB-28)

-har dam 'every moment' (DB-103)

13.1.3. Numeral Adjectives

Numeral adjectives indicate numbers -- definite or indefinite. These are of different kinds:

(a) Cardinal Numbers

The cardinal numbers of Urdu are derived from the Sanskrit through the medium of Prakrit. Like other adjectives the numerals also precede the nouns they qualify.

Development of cardinals:

The following is the development³ of the cardinal numbers in Urdu:-

	<u>Urdu</u>	<u>Prakrit</u>	<u>Sanskrit</u>
1.	ek	ekka	ek
2.	do ⁴	do	dvi
3.	tīn	tiñni	tri
4.	cār	cattāri	catur
5.	pāñc	pañca	pañca
6.	che	cha	sat

3. Based on S.H. Kellogg, Grammar of the Hindi Language, pp.142-46 for Sk. forms and pp.163-64 for Pk.forms.

4. The same form is also used in Persian.

	<u>Urdu</u>	<u>Prakrit</u>	<u>Sanskrit</u>
7.	sāt	otta	sapta
8.	āth	attha	aṣṭa
9.	nau	nāa	nava
10.	das	dasa	daśa
11.	gyārah	eāraha	ekadaśa
12.	bārah	vāraha	dvādaśa
13.	terah	teraha	trayodaśa
14.	caudah	cāuddaha	caturdaśa
15.	pandrah	pannarasa	pañcadaśa
16.	solah	soraha	ṣoḍaśa
17.	satrah	sattaraha	saptadaśa
18.	atthārah	atthorah	aṣṭadaśa
19.	unnīs	ekūnaviśāi, unaviśāi	Unviṁśati
20.	biś	viśāi	viṁśati
30.	tiś	tiśā	triṁśat
40.	cālīs	cattālīsā	catvāriṁśat
50.	pacās	pannāsa	pañcāśat
60.	saṭh	saṭṭhi	ṣaṣṭi
70.	sattar	sattari	saptati
80.	acāī	acāi	aṣṭi
90.	navve	navo	navati
100.	saū	saṭa, say, saī	śata
1000.	hasār ⁵	sahasā	sahasra ^t
100000.	lākh	lakkha	lakṣa

5. It is borrowed from Persian. The tadbhava form of Sk. sahasra is not found in Urdu. According to S.H. Kellogg (cf. op. cit., p. 146) etymologically hasār is identical with the Sanskrit form, sahasra.

Occurrence of Cardinals in Texts:

The following is the occurrence of the cardinal numbers in different texts of Old and Middle Urdu:-

- ek din 'one day' (KK-48)
- do mahlo 'two palaces' (KK-101)
- tin kām 'three deeds' (KK-73)
- cār vasiyatē 'four wills' (KK-77)
- pāc sar 'five heads' (KK-227)
- che mahine 'six months' (KK-220)
- sāt baras 'seven years' (KK-121)
- āth- 'eight' (KS-88)
- nau rupae 'nine rupees' (KS-59)
- das šaxs 'ten people' (KK-81)
- gyārah mās 'eleven months' (BK-62)
- bārah/bārāh 'twelve' (KS-213/KK-49)
- terah baras 'thirteen years' (KK-133)
- caudah sar 'fourteen heads' (KK-227)
- pandarāh din 'fifteen days' (KK-73)
- bis- 'twenty' (QMD-3)
- tis- 'thirty' (KK-285)
- cālīs din 'forty days' (KK-47)
- pachas qadam 'fifty steps' (KK-202)
- sattar tan 'seventy people' (KK-252)
- sai- 'hundred' (KK-206)
- hasar 'thousand' (KK-105)
- lākh/lakh 'lao' (KK-50/DQK-162)

The identical forms of sai 'hundred' in early Middle Urdu is sai. It occurs mostly in QMD and KK when preceded by cardinals, e.g.

-do sai hath 'two hundred hands' (QMD-36)

-tīn sai saṡar 'three hundred riders' (KK-112)

-sāt sai saza 'seven hundred wounds' (KK-206)

Note: sai was completely replaced by sai in late Middle Urdu.

(b) Ordinal Numbers

The ordinal numbers in Urdu upto 'sixth' are: pahlā 'first', dūsra 'second', tīrā 'third', cauthā 'fourth', pañcā 'fifth' and ṡaṡā (ṡaṡā) 'sixth'. All the remaining ordinals are formed from the cardinals, by adding the termination - vā.

The ordinals ending in -ā and -ā are regularly inflected like adjectives ending in -ā, e.g., tīrā 'third' (KK-132), daśvā 'tenth' (KK-195), etc.

Development of Urdu Ordinals:

pahlā = According to John Beames⁶ the ordinal pahlā has developed from the Sk. prathara and not from prathara. Dharendra Verma⁷ has traced its development as follows: pahlā < Pr. padhilla* padhilla* < Sk. pra-tha-tila*

āṡara and tīrā = They are not related to Sk.

dvitīya and tṡtīya. According to Beames and Hoernle⁸

6. A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages of India, Vol. II, p. 142.

7. Hindi Bhasa ka Itihāsa, p. 272.

8. With reference to B.N. Tiwari, op.cit., p.232.

they have developed from dvi + aṛṭah and tri + aṛṭah respectively.

cauthā = Its development can be traced as follows:

Sk. caturthakah > Pr. cautthae, cautthāe > Ap. cauttha

Ur. cauthā.

pācā = This ordinal is formed by adding the termination -vā which is derived from the Sk. tan.

chata = It has developed from the same Prakrit form chata which developed from the Sk. ṣaṭha.

The ordinals above chata 'sixth' are all formed by adding -vā (derived from Sk. tan) to the cardinal

numbers.

Exceptions: ssatranī 'seventeenth', athārahī 'eighteenth' (QMD).

Occurrence of Ordinals in Texts:

-pahlī faal 'the first part' (KK-209)

-dūsarā betā 'the second son' (KK-157)

-tīsarā hissā 'the third part' (KK-72)

-tīsarā din 'the third day' (KK-137)

-cauthā- 'fourth' (KK-158)

-pācā- 'fifth' (KK-263)

-dasvī rat 'the tenth night' (KK-195)

-unīsvī rāt 'the nineteenth night' (KK-84)

-atthāīsvī tārix 'the eighteenth day' (KK-99)

(c) Fractional Numbers

Developments:

<u>Urdu</u>	<u>Prakrit</u>	<u>Sanskrit</u>
1/4 pav (pāo)	pāo	pāda
1/3 tihāī	tihāīā	tribhāgika
1/2 ādhā	addhāa	arddhaka
3/4 paan	pāuna	pādona = pāda + ūna 'a quarter less'
1 1/2 derh	diaddha	ardhe + dvitiya 'half second'
2 1/2 dhāī	addhāīā	ardha - tritiya
1 1/2 savā	savāa	sapāda = sa + pāda 'with a quarter'
+ 1/2 sarhe	saddhāo	sārdhaka = sa + ardhaka 'with a half'

Occurrence in Texts:

-ādhī- 'half' (KK-124)

-sarhe tīn 'three and a half' (KK-274)

(d) Distributive Numbers

The distributive number is expressed by repeating the cardinal number. The repetition denote 'at a time', e.g.

-ek ek āinā 'one mirror at a time' (QMD-23)

-do do- 'two at a time' (QMD-103)

-pacās pacās 'fifty each' (KK-120)

-sau sau- 'hundred each' (KK-63)

13.2. Declension of Adjectives

The adjective ending in -ā remains unchanged when the noun qualified is masculine and forms the direct singular. In all other cases such adjectives are declined according to the following rules:

(1) The final -ā is changed into -e when the noun qualified is masculine and forms the oblique singular or plural or direct plural.

(2) The final ā is changed into ī when the noun qualified is feminine and forms the direct singular or plural or oblique singular or plural.

The declension of adjectives can be illustrated as follows:

MASCULINE

	<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
Dir.	kālā 'black'		kāle
Obl.	kāle		kāle

FEM. FEMINE

	<u>Sg.</u>		<u>Pl.</u>
Dir.	kālī		kālī
Obl.	kālī		kālī

Note: The same rule can be applied to all ordinal numeral adjectives ending in -ā or -vā, e.g. pahlā 'first', dasvā 'tenth' etc. such adjectives are declined to ā or -ā respectively when the following noun is masculine and ī or ī when it is feminine.

13.3. Comparison of Adjectives

Adjectives in Old and Middle Urdu undergo no change of form to express the comparative and superlative degrees. The sense of comparative and superlative degree is expressed generally by the use of the post position se ([~]se) and sometimes by mē which precede the adjective. The adjective itself remains in the positive.

The form se is used only when the comparison is made between two things but when the comparison is made with all things of any class, the pronominal adjective sab 'all' is used with se or mē to give the superlative sense.

13.3.1. Comparative Degree

- cār baras se upar 'more than four years' (QD-11)
- bārah baras se kam 'less than twelve years' (QD-28)
- āftāb se bhī rauśan 'brighter even than the sun' (QD-33)
- patlī hai, bāl se bhī 'is thinner even than the hair' (QD-42)
- is se barā 'greater than this' (QD-351)
- is se behtar 'better than this' (KK-68)
- husain se barā 'elder than Husain' (KK-265)

Sometimes instead of positive the Persian comparative is used with se. But such examples are quite rare, e.g.

- patthar javahēr se behtar hai 'stones are better than gems' (QD-16)

13.3.2. Superlative Degree

-sab se ziyādā zarūr 'most urgent' (QND-262)

-sab mē barī 'greatest of all' (QND-332)

Note: Despite the fact that Old Urdu is relatively rich in Sanskrit vocabulary, the comparative and superlative forms of Sanskrit ending in -tar (e.g. kathintar 'more difficult') and -tam (e.g. kathintam 'most difficult') do not appear in the texts of Old Urdu, neither these are found in Middle Urdu texts.

13.4. Intensity of Adjectives

The intensity is given to an adjective either (1) by prefixing adverbs like barā 'very', bahut 'very' or niḥayat 'extremely' to the adjective or (2) by adding śā (śī, śē) to it. Intensity is also expressed by repeating the same adjective.

13.4.1. By Prefixing Adverbs

-bahut āliśān 'very magnificent' (QND-15)

-barā āliśān 'very magnificent' (QND-22)

-bahut xūbsūrat 'very beautiful' (QND-26)

-niḥayat ādherā 'extremely dark' (QND-218)

-bahut acchī 'very good' (QND-222)

-bahut sabū[~] 'very bad' (QND-247)

1. + Aspiration / - aspiration:

- (a) hāth 'hand' (AN-113)
 hāt 'hand' (DQM-162)
- (b) sāth 'with' (AN-46)
 sāt 'with' (DQM-114)
- (c) mujh 'me' (BK-31)
 muj 'me' (AN-238)
- (d) bhūkhā 'hungry' (LB-94)
 bhūk 'hunger' (BK-31)

Note: The aspirated forms along with unaspirated forms continued down to eNU.

2. r/l :

- (a) gar 'neck' (BK-36)
 gal 'neck' (BK-58)
- (b) kārī (fem) 'black' (BK-37)
 kālā (mas.) 'black' (KB-67)

Note: In e.U l was selected over g thus we get in e.U bādāl, kālā etc.

3. d/r :

- (a) ed 'spur' (AN-181)
 er 'spur' (AN-128)

Note: In eNU the preference was given to r over d. Thus we get burhiyā (LD-118) and burhā (KS-206) in eNU instead of būdhīyā (AN-110) and būdhā (KK-247) in Old and eNU.

4. + Gemination / - gemination:

- (a) xatt 'letter' (AN-56)
xat 'letter' (AN-56)
- (b) qisā 'story' (AN-109)
qisā 'story' (AN-58)
- (c) abb 'now' (AN-198)
ab 'now' (AN-199)
- (d) hassan 'Hasan' (AN-68)
hasan 'Hasan' (AN-68)
- (e) mittī 'soil' (AN-45)
mitī 'soil' (AN-45)
- (f) saccā 'true' (AN-52)
sacā 'true' (AN-99)

Note: Gemination of consonants in Perso-Arabic words disappeared in U especially in LU. The gemination of tadbhava words however continued. Degemination was also discontinued.

5. CC/CVC:

- (a) bars 'year' (BK-51)
baras 'year' (AN-183)
- (b) vaqt 'time' (D/H-118)
vaqat 'time' (D/H-108)
- (c) sabz 'green' (AN-45)
sabaz 'green' (AN-69)

- (d) qatl 'murder' (AN-128)
 qatal 'murder' (AN-107)
- (e) hukm 'order' (AN-110)
 hukam 'order' (AN-45)
- (f) zahr 'poison' (AN-65)
 zahar 'poison' (AN-45)
- (g) sif 'attribute' (AN-35)
 sifat 'attribute' (AN-33)
- (h) arb 'Arabia' (AN-97)
 arab 'Arabia' (AN-44)

Notes: Breaking of Perso-Arabic final clusters was discontinued in MU, especially in LU. Similarly the clustering of consonants in the final syllable came to an end. Tadbhava form baras was adopted and bars disappeared.

9.3 Variants in Early Middle Urdu

1. + Lengthening / - lengthening:

- (a) māṭī 'earth' (KK-232)
 matṭī 'earth' (DEN-279)
- (b) nāhī 'no, not' (DF-198)
 nahī 'no, not' (DF-202)
- (c) ḥāsī 'laughter' (DL-78)
 hāsī 'laughter' (DEN-181)

Note: natī still remained in LKU whereas hāsī and nāhī were completely dropped.

2. + Nasalization / - nasalization:

- (a) nīd 'sleep' (KK-282)
nīd 'sleep' (KK-282)
- (b) sē 'from' (DSN-168)
se 'from' (DSN-168)
- (c) tū 'thou' (LJK-296)
tū 'thou' (DF-221)
- (d) mūh 'face' (DSN-87)
muh 'face' (QND-26)
- (e) donō 'both' (KK-125)
dono 'both' (KK-125)
- (f) terī 'thy, thine' (QND-5)
terī 'thy, thine' (KK-263)
- (g) nāc 'dance' (QND-8)
nāc 'dance' (DSN-218)
- (h) athārā 'eighteen' (KK-220)
athārā 'eighteen' (KK-193)
- (i) aisī 'so, such' (QND-17)
aisī 'so, such' (KK-228)

Note: Except nīd, mūh and donō all the nasalized forms were dropped in LKU.

2. Consonant

1. + Aspiration / - aspiration:

- (a) hō̃th 'lip' (Mz, JSII-205)
hō̃t 'lip' (KK-113)
- (b) jībh 'tongue' (KK-168)
jīb 'tongue' (DF-239)
- (c) kalh 'yesterday' (KK-264)
kal 'yesterday' (DSN-162)
- (d) sā̃jh 'evening' (DF-195)
sā̃j 'evening' (KK-193)
- (e) bhī 'also' (Mz, JSII-205)
bī 'also' (DF-235)
- (f) sāth 'with' (MRJK-298)
sāt 'with' (MRJK-296)
- (g) jhūthā 'false' (KK-260)
jhūtā 'false' (KK-230)
- (i) jhūth 'lie' (CMD-362)
jhūt 'lie' (CMD-362)

Note: The variants like hō̃th / hō̃t and jhūthā / jhūtā continued to exist in LAU and bī, kalh, sā̃j and jīb were dropped.

2. dh/rh:

būdhā 'old' (EK-250)

būrhā(pā) 'old(age)' (EK-219)

Note: In LHU būrhā was selected over būdhā.

3. + Gemination / - gemination

(a) badd 'bad' (D.N-26)

bad 'bad' (D.N-27)

(b) šakkar 'sugar' (D.N-42)

sakar 'sugar' (EK-306)

Note: The forms bad and šakar were retained in LHU.

9.4 Variant in Late Middle Urdu

1. Vowel

1. + Lengthening / - lengthening:

(a) īdhar 'thither' (EK-131)

iddhar 'hithar' (EK-153)

(b) ūdhar 'thither' (EK-46)

udhar 'thither' (EK-64)

(c) kīdhar 'where' (EK-163)

kidhar 'where' (EK-165)

(d) lāga 'began' (EK-68)

laga 'began' (EK-168)

- (e) jē, ah 'place' (KM-135)
 jagah 'place' (AS-140)
 (g) jī, ah 'where' (LD-132)
 jī, ah 'where' (LD-140)

Note: The forms with lengthened vowels were completely dropped in Modern Urdu.

2. Consonant

1. + Aspiration / - aspiration:

- (a) hōth 'lip' (KM-112)
 hōt 'lip' (KM-252)
 (b) hōthō 'lips' (KM-106)
 hōtō 'lips' (SB-125)
 (c) jhuthā 'false' (KM-125)
 jhutā 'false' (KM-156)

Note: Aspirated forms completely disappeared in Modern Urdu.

9.5 Variants in OU, eMU and lMU

<u>OU</u>	<u>eMU</u>	<u>lMU</u>
A. hāsī	hāsī, hāsī	hāsī
bhūk, baul	bhūk	bhūk
bhītar, bhitar	bhītar	-
ūpar, upar	ūpar, upar	ūpar

<u>OU</u>	<u>au</u>	<u>au</u>
jag ah, jagah	jāgah, jagah	jāgah ¹ , jagah
āslān, aslān ²	aslān	aslān
īdhar, idhar	īdhar, idhar	īdhar ³ , idhar
ūdhar, udhar	ūdhar, udhar	ūdhar ⁴ , udhar
		kīdhar ⁵ , kīdhar
		jīdhar ⁶ , jīdhar
nāhī, nahī ⁷	nāhī ⁷ , nahī	nahī
B. nīd	nīd, nīd	nīd
īā, mā	mā	mā
rūh	rūh, ruh ⁸	rūh
sē, se	sē, se	se
kūc, kūc	kūc, kūc	kūc
	terī ⁹ , terī	terī
	erī ¹⁰ , erī	erī
	nāc, nāc	nāc
	bārāh, ¹¹ bārāh	bārāh
	athārāh ¹² athārāh	athārāh
C. dūd ¹³	dūd, dūdha	dūd
	sāj ^h , sāj	sāj ^h

1. Occurs in KK, KS and DD.

2. Occurs mostly in AN.

3-6. Occur almost in all the texts of LMU.

7. Occurs mostly in DP.

8. Occurs mostly in SPD.

9&10. Occur only in SPD.

11.&12. Occurs in KK.

13. Occur in AN.

<u>OU</u>	<u>eMU</u>	<u>LMU</u>
sāmne	sāmhne ¹⁴	sāmne ¹⁵
jhūt	jhūth, jhūt	jhūth, jhūt
	hōth, hōt	hōth, hōt ¹⁶
bhūk	bhūkh, bhūk	bhūk
hāt, hāth	hāt, hāth	hāt, hāth
	kalh, kal	kal
D. būrḥā, būdhiyā	būdḥā, būrḥā	burḥā,
budhiyā	budhiyā	burhiyā
E. bādar ¹⁷	bādal	bādal
kārī ¹⁸	kālā	kālā
F. jagḡah, jagah ¹⁹	jagḡah, jagah	jagah
achā ²⁰ , acchā	acchā	acchā
hassan ²¹ , hasan	hasan	hasan
abb, ab	abb, ab	ab
sacā ²² , saccā	saccā	saccā
xat, xatt ²³	xat	xat
G. aqal ²⁴ , aql	aql	aql
sifat, sift ²⁵	sifat	sifat
sulam, zulm ²⁶	zulm	zulm
hijar ²⁷ , hijr	hijr	hijr
sabar ²⁸ , sabr	sabr	sabr

14. Occurs in KK and QMD.

15 & 16. Occur mostly in KM.

17 & 18. Occurs mostly in BK.

19. Occurs mostly in AN and QMD.

20-23. Such forms mostly occur in AN.

24-28. Occur mostly in BK and AN.

PART III

MORPHOLOGY

M O R P H O L O G Y

CHAPTER 10

FORMATION OF WORDS BY AFFIXES

10.1 General Statement

Affixes are an important part of the morphology of Urdu. A large number of words in Urdu are formed by appending affixes to verbal roots, nouns and other words. Old and Middle Urdu affixes have mainly developed from the following three sources.

1. Sanskrit or CIA
2. Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa or AIA
3. Persian and Arabic

A small number of affixes also come from the Turkish language.

Affixes which belong to Sanskrit or CIA are known as tatsama. According to Dr. D.K. Chatterji¹ the CIA affixes, primary or secondary become disguised, or dropped out in AIA, have been preserved and occur in AIA languages. Tadbhava affixes have developed from Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. Urdu is very rich in Perso-Arabic affixes. These affixes have retained their original forms and meanings in Urdu. From the historical point of view tadbhava affixes are very important. Affixes in Urdu are mainly of two types --- prefixes and suffixes. They are bound forms and do not

1. The Origin and Development of the Bengali language, p.651.

occur in isolation. They are added to the free forms to give the meaning.

10.2 Prefixes

Prefixes have a very long history of their development in the Indo-European family of language. In the beginning they were free forms having their own meanings. But at the time of the development of Sanskrit the freedom of their occurrence was lost and they came to be used as bound forms. According to their scope and origin, the Urdu prefixes can be grouped into tatsama, tadbhava and Perso-Arabic.

1. Tatsama Prefixes

Tatsama prefixes are pure Sanskrit prefixes, and have not been modified during the course of the time. They are used in their original forms. Tatsama prefixes are appended to both tatsama and tadbhava words. Sanskrit grammarians give twenty two prefixes which when used with a root or another word, considerably change their meanings.² The number of tatsama prefixes used in Urdu is very small. Following are the examples of such prefixes.

1. su- 'good, happy' as in —

(a) su-gandh < Sk. gandha 'smell'

/sugandh/ 'fragrance' (LD-112)

2. L. Srivastva, The Elements of Hindi Grammar (Varansi, 1969), p.165.

(b) su-ras < k. rasa 'juice'

/suras/ 'sweet' (SL-30)

2. nir- 'absence, without' as in :

(a) nir-dai < Sk. dayā 'kindness'

/nirdai/ 'pitiless' (SL-207)

(b) nir-ās < Sk. āśā 'hope'

/nirās/ 'hopeless' (AN-138)

3. sa- 'fullness' as in :

(a) sa-ghan < Sk. ghana 'compact'

/saghan/ 'dense, thick' (QMD-5)

4. a- 'absence' as in :

(a) a-nyāyī < Sk. nyāya 'justice'

/anyāyi/ 'injustice' (QMD-308)

(b) a-jit < Sk. jita 'victory'

/ajit/ 'unsubdued' (SLD-42)

(c) a-mol < Sk. rūlya 'price'

/amol/ 'priceless' (SLD-125)

(d) a-nīdī < Sk. nidrā 'sleep'

/anīdī/ 'sleepless' (DT-241)

2. Tadbhava Prefixes

Tadbhava prefixes have developed from Sanskrit.

From historical point of view they are very important,

because they have been modified during the period of 11A.

These prefixes are mainly added to tadbhava words. Examples are-

1. bi- < Sk. vi- 'separation' as in:

(a) bi-yog < Sk. yoga 'union'

/biyog/ 'separation' (JD-181)

(b) bi-deś < Sk. deśa 'country'

/bides/ 'foreign country' (BK-44)

2. sa- < Sk. sat- 'good' as in:

(a) sa-jan < Sk. jana 'man'

/sajan/ 'gentleman' (KS-87)

3. bah- < Sk. bahu- 'several' as in:

(a) bah-rūpiyā < Sk. rūpa 'figure'

/bahrūpiyā/ 'one who assumes various
characters' (DSN-36)

4. an- 'without' as in:

(a) an-ginat < ginat < Sk. gaṇanā 'counting'

/anɡinat/ 'countless' (AN-136)

(b) an-jan < jān 'familiarity'

/anjān/ 'unfamiliar' (BK-59)

5. un- < Sk. una- 'less one' as in:

(a) un-tīs < tīs < Sk. triṃśat 'thirty'

/untīs/ 'twenty nine' (JD-334)

(b) un-nīs < nīs < Pr. vīśai, vīśa < Sk. vīṣṭat

'twenty'

/unnīs/ 'nineteen' (KK-84)

6. ni- < Ar. nī -, ni- < Sk. nir- 'absence of, without as in

(a) ni-dar < dar 'fear'

/niḍar/ 'fearless' (AN-170)

3. Perso-Arabic Prefixes

Due to the plentiful borrowings from Persian and Arabic, Urdu abounds in Perso-Arabic prefixes. They are added to Perso-Arabic words. But there are certain cases where they have also been added to Indbhava words. Following are the most common Perso-Arabic prefixes used in Urdu.

1. be- Per. be- 'without', equal in meaning to English

'loss, -in, in' etc., e.g.

(a) be-hayā < Ar. hayā 'pudency'

/behayā/ 'impudent' (L.K-27)

(b) be-wafā < Ar. wafā 'faith'

/bewafā/ 'faithless' (L.K-53)

(c) be-bāk < Per. bāk 'fear'

/bebāk/ 'fearless' (KS-232)

(d) be-jā < Per. jā 'pl co'

/bejā/ 'improper' (K-128)

(e) be-rahm < Ar. rahm 'mercy'

/berahm/ 'cruel' (KM-143)

(f) be-hoś < Per. hoś 'sense'

/behoś/ 'senseless' (KM-143)

2. nā- 'not' as in :

- (a) nā-yāb < Per. yāb yāftan 'to get'
/nāyāb/ 'unobtainable' (KE-162)
- (b) nā-far.ān < Ar. farmān 'order'
/nāfarmān/ 'disobedient' (ED-159)
- (c) nā-gavār < Per. gavār gavārīdan 'to digest'
/nāgavār/ 'unpleasant' (DA-178)

3. har- 'every, each' as in :

- (a) har-jāf < Per. jā 'place'
/harjāf/ 'loiterer' (DA-46)

4. har- 'same' as in :

- (a) har-safar < Ar. safar 'journey'
/harsafar/ 'fellow-traveller' (KE-153)
- (b) har-dam < Per. dam 'breath'
/haramdam/ 'companion' (KE-165)

5. bad- < Per. bad 'bad, ill, of poor quality' as in

- (a) bad-xū < Per. xū 'nature, manner'
/badxū/ 'ill-natured' (KE-158)
- (b) bad-aḥd < Ar. ʿahd 'promise'
/badahd/ 'unfaithful to one's promise' (KE-187)

6. ba- < Ar. ba- 'with, in' as in :

- (a) ba-lab < Per. lab 'lip'
/balab/ 'in the lip' (DA-10)

(b) bazor < Per. zor 'force'

/bazor/ 'forcefully' (ID-76)

7. peš- < Per. peš 'ahead, forward, front' as in

(a) peš- qadrī < Ar. qadan 'step'

/pešqadrī/ 'taking the lead, initiative'

(KS-248)

8. gar- < Per. dar 'within' as in

(a) dar-dāman < Per. dāman 'skirt of a garment'

/dardāman/ 'fringe' (KD-31)

9. nā- 'not' as in:

(a) nā- rasīdā < Per. rasīdah rasīdan 'to reach'

/nārasīdā/ 'inaccessible' (KS-258)

10. nav- Per. nav- 'new' as in:

(a) nav-darīdā < Per. darīdah darīdan 'to bloom'

/navdarīdā/ 'newly sprung up' (KS-258)

4. Perso-Arabic Prefixes added to Tadbhava words.

1. be- 'without' as in:

(a) be-ginat < ginat < Sk. gaṇanā 'counting'

/beginat/ 'countless' (AN-150)

(b) be-daul < daul 'form, shape'

/bedaul/ 'ugly' (AN-43)

(c) be-ghar < Sk. grha 'home'

/beghar/ 'homeless' (KK-240)

(d) be-dharak

/bedharak/ 'fearlessly, unhesitatingly' (SB-95)

2. ba- 'in, to' as in:

(a) ghar ba-ghar < ghar < Sk. grāha 'house'

/ghar ba-ghar/ 'house to house' (KS-265)

3. bad- 'bad' as in:

(a) b d-ghari < ghari 'time'

/badghari/ 'ominous hour' (BK-47)

4. pur- 'full of' as in:

(a) pur-ādhiyār < Sk. andhkār 'darkness'

/purādhiyār/ 'full of darkness' (KK-201)

1033 Suffixes

Like prefixes, suffixes are also bound forms and added to the free forms. The history of certain suffixes can be traced back to Indo-European. During the development of the Indo-Iranian, some of the Indo-European suffixes were lost and a few new ones were added. This also happened at the time of the development of Sanskrit. Suffixes in Urdu are tatsama, tadbhava and of Perso-Arabic origin. A few affixes like -ci etc., are borrowed from Turkish³ through Persian.

3. Akmal Ayubi, "Urdu per Turkī Zabān ke Asarāt", the lahiri, Jan-March 1971, pp.53-64.

1. Tatsama Suffixes

Tatsama suffixes belong to Sanskrit and mainly added to Tatsama words. The grammarians have classified Sanskrit suffixes in two groups -- verbal suffixes which are the verbal roots and nominal suffixes which are added to nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. Words formed by verbal and nominal suffixes are called by Sanskrit grammarians *krdanta* and *taddhita*. John 'Beames'⁴ has used for *krdanta* the term 'primary stem' and for *taddhita* 'secondary stem'. Tatsama suffixes used in Urdu are only few in number.

(A) Nominal Suffixes

1. -tā = This suffix forms abstract noun when added to noun or adjectives. It gives the meaning of '-ness' as in:

(a) *komal-tā* < Sk. *komala* 'delicate, tender'

/komaltā/ 'tenderness' (QND-37)

(b) *sukumār-tā* < Sk. *sukumāra* 'soft, gentle'

/sukumārtā/ 'softness, tenderness' (QND-32)

2. -ī = It forms relative adjective as in:

(a) *sanyās-ī* < Sk. *sanyāsa* 'abandonment of

worldly ties'

/sanyāśī/ 'hermit, monk' (QND-58)

(b) *bairāg-ī* < *bairāg* < Sk. *vairāgya* 'freedom

from worldly desire'

/bairāgī/ 'stoic, recluse' (QND-58)

4. Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, p. 3. Vol. II, p.3.

- (c) dukh-ī Sk. dukha 'sorrow, grief'
/dukhi/ 'sorrowful' (AD-121)

3. -ai = It means 'full of, abounding in' as in :

- (a) sukh-ai < Sk. sukh 'happiness, joy'
/sukh ai/ 'joyful' (AD-124)

4. -ā = It forms feminine noun as in :

- (a) pātr-ā < Sk. pātra 'character'
/pātrā/ 'loose woman' (AD-187)

(B) Verbal Suffixes

1. -ā = It forms noun as in :

- (a) kathā < Sk. kṛth 'to tell'
/kathā/ 'story' (BK-57)

2. Tadbhava Suffixes

These suffixes have developed from Sanskrit through Prakrit and Apabhramsa. As compared to tatsama, tadbhava suffixes are more closely attached to Urdu. It is, in fact, the tadbhava suffixes which are Urdu's own.

These suffixes are classified under the heads of verbal and nominal suffixes. Verbal suffixes are added to verbal roots, whereas nominal suffixes are added to a noun, pronoun and adjective etc., to form again nouns and adjectives.

1. -ā = It has developed from Sanskrit -ak and Prakrit -ā as in CIA ghotaka > CIA ghodā > Ur. ghorā 'horse'. This

view is held by Chatterji. Hoernle also holds the same view. But according to John Beames this is due to the influence of accent⁵. Examples are -

(a) mel-ā < mel mil(nā) 'to meet'

/melā/ 'fair' (DH-234)

(b) jhul-ā < jhul(nā) 'to swing'

/jhulā/ 'swing' (KK-190)

2. -āī, -ī = According to Hoernle it has developed from Sk. -tika > Pr. iā > Ur. āī as in Sk. mistkā > Pr. mitthiā mithāī. Prof. S.K. Chatterji is of the view that this is a late LIA formation. He has traced its development as OIA -āp-ikā > -āvia, -āvia > -āvi > āī. Hindi grammarians like Banikant⁶ Makati and Kisoridas Vajpeyi⁷ derive -āī from Vedic prefix -tāti. The form -ti- has changed into -ī in Prakrit. The development is like this: OIA -tāti > LIA -tāi > Ur. āī, e.g.

with verbal roots:

(a) lar-āī < lar(nā) 'to fight'

/larāī/ 'fight' (AN-211)

(b) carh-āī < carh(nā) 'to climb'

/carhāī/ 'aggression' (BK-37)

(c) hās-āī < hās(nā) 'to laugh'

/hāsāī/ 'ridicule, mockery' (KK-164)

5. Ibid., pp. 4-7.

6. Quoted by U.N. Tiwari, Hindī Bhāṣā kā Udgam aur Vikāś, p. 403.

7. Quoted by Saytya Narayan Tripathy, Hindī Bhāṣā aur Usi ka Aitihasik Vikāś, p. 105.

With adjectives:

- (a) burā-ī < burā 'bad'
/burāī/ 'badness' (DF-207)
- (b) barā-ī < barā 'big', great'
/barāī/ 'greatness' (DF-115)
- (c) ciknā-ī < ciknā 'smooth'
/ciknāī/ 'smoothness' (QID-32)
- (d) patlā-ī < patlā 'thin'
/patlāī/ 'thinness' (QID-38)
- (e) mithā-ī(mithāī) < mithā 'sweet'
/mithā-ī/ 'sweet meat' (DF-235)

3. -ap = It has developed from Sanskrit -tva. In Prakrit it became -ppa.

- (a) mil-āp < mil(nā) 'to meet'
/milāp/ 'unity' (DF-246)

4. -ap, -apa = It developed from Sk. -tvaka and Pr. -ppaa as in Sk. vrddhtvaka > Pr. buddhappaā > Ur. burhāpā.

- (a) burhā -pā < burhā < Sk. vrddha 'old'
/burhāpā/ 'old age' (DF-198)
- (b) rād-āpā < rād 'widow'
/rādāpā/ 'widowhood' (KK-152)

5. -an = It belongs to Sk. -ana and Pr. ana, e.g.

- (a) mil-an < mil(nā) 'to meet'
/milan/ 'meeting, union' (BK-53)
- (b) jal-an < jal(nā) 'to burn'
/jalan/ 'burning' (BK-57)

6. -hār, hārā = It developed from Sk. hāraka 'one who carries' Pr. -hāraṇ > -hār, -hārā. According to B.N. Tivari it has developed from Sk. dhāraka or bhāraka.⁸
Examples are -

(a) pan-hār < pānī 'water'

/panhār/ 'one who brings water' (DF-230)

7. -haṭ = There are different views about the origin of this su. ix. According to Hoernle it belongs to Sk. vr̥tti, vr̥tta and Pr. form vattī, vatta. Beames links it with ātu. Turner derives it from -āhā + āvata. B.N. Tivari gives its development as follows: Sk. tavya + ka + tvam Pr. avvattam
avvata āvata āata āhāt, haṭ⁹

(a) camcamā-haṭ < camcamā(nā) 'to brighten'

/camcamāhaṭ/ 'brightness, glitter' (MD-39)

(b) ciknā-haṭ < ciknā(nā) 'to smooth'

/ciknāhaṭ/ 'smoothness, oilness' (MD-86)

8. -ānī, nī = This is an extension of the -ana. Sk. -ana was changed into -ana in Prakrit. Examples -
With Verbs :

(a) kah-ānī < kah(nā) 'to tell'

/kahānī/ 'story' (BK-31)

(b) cat-nī < cāt(nā) 'to lick'

/catnī/ 'sauce' (KS-152)

With nouns:

(a) cādñī < cād 'moon'

/cādñī/ 'moon light' (DF-199)

8. Hindi Bhasa, p. 141.
9. Ibid., p. 135.

9. -pan = It has developed from Sk. -tvana and Pr. -ppana:

k. vr̥ddhatvāna Pr. buddhappana būrhapan.

(a) bāl-pan < bāl 'child'

/bālpan/ 'childhood' (KK-161)

(b) rādh-pan < rād(h) 'widow'

/rādhpan/ 'widowhood' (KK-198)

(c) larak-pan < larkā 'boy'

/larakpan/ 'boyhood' (KK-128)

10. -ī = It belongs to Sk. -ika, ikā. It is also an important suffix of Persian. A large number of Perso-Arabic words are formed by adding this suffix. Here only those words are discussed which have come from CIA through AIA.

(a) hās-ī < hās(nā) 'to laugh'

/hāsī/ 'laughter' (KK-162)

(b) phās-ī < phās(nā) 'to entrap'

/phāsī/ 'death by hanging' (BK-58)

(c) sāth-ī < sāth 'company'

/sāthī/ 'companion' (BK-37)

(d) dhan-ī < dhan 'wealth'

/dhanī/ 'wealthy' (KK-213)

(e) bhār-ī < bhār 'burden'

/bhārī/ 'heavy' (DF-213)

(f) pyār-ī < pyār 'love'

/pyārī/ 'lovely' (DF-208)

11. -ilā = It has developed from Sk. -ila Pr. -illa.

(a) chab-ilā < chab < Sk. chavi 'beauty'

/chabīlā/ 'handsome' (DF-196)

(b) saj-ilā < saj(nā) 'to appear beautiful'

/sajīlā/ 'attractive' (DF-205)

(c) ras-ilā < ras 'juice'

/rasīlā/ 'juicy' (DF-221)

(d) rang-ilā < rang 'colour'

/rangīlā/ 'colourful' (DF-221)

12. -rī = It has developed from Sk. kar + ik Pr. ar + i

(a) hatyā-rī < hatyā 'murder'

/hatyārī/ 'murderer' (OED-207)

3. Perso-Arabic Suffixes

Perso-Arabic suffixes are mainly added to Perso-Arabic words. The following suffixes of Perso-Arabic origin are most commonly used in Old and Middle Urdu.

1. -ār + It forms a kind of verbal noun when added to the past stem of certain verbs, e.g.

(a) dīd-ār < Per. dīd(an) 'to see'

/dīdār/ 'visit' (BK-35)

(b) girāftār < Per. girāft(an) 'to catch'

/girāftār/ 'captured' (DF-198)

(c) guftār < Per. guft(an) 'to say'

/guftār/ 'speech' (KH-388)

(d) raft-ār < Per. raft(an) 'to walk'
/raftār/ 'gait' (KM-643)

2. -bān It conveys the idea of 'keeper' as in

(a) bāg-bān < Per. bāg 'garden'
/bāgbān/ 'gardener' (KS-223)

(b) darbān < Per. dar 'door'
/darbān/ 'door keeper' (QMD-223)

3. -cā, īcā = It is used to form diminutives as in :

(a) kū-cā < Per. kū 'street'
/kūcā/ 'lane, small street' (KM-237)

(b) bāg-īcā < bāg 'garden'
/bāgīcā/ 'small garden' (QMD-115)

4. -dān = It indicates receptacle as in

(a) namak-dān < namak 'salt'
/namakdān/ 'salt-cellar' (QMD-175)

(b) qalam-dān < Ar. qalam 'pen'
/qalamdān/ 'pen-case' (QMD-194)

5. -sitān, -sitā = It forms noun of place as in:

(a) gul-sitān < Per. gul 'flower'
/gulsitā/ 'garden' (KM-389)

(b) hindo-stān < Per. hindū 'Hindu'
shindostān/ 'India' (QMD-1)

6. -gar = It denotes the agent as in

(a) fitna-gar < Ar. fitna 'sedition'
/fitnagar/ 'seditious' (KM-190)

(b) jadū-gar < Per. jādu 'magic'

/jādūgar/ 'magician' (D-248)

(c) saudā-gar < Per. saudā 'transaction'

/saudāgar/ 'trade' (AD-63)

7. -ī = It forms abstract noun as in:

(a) xūb-ī < Per. xūb 'good'

/xūbī/ 'goodness' (QMD-6)

(b) siyāh-ī < Per. siyāh 'black'

/siyāhī/ 'blackness' (QMD-36)

(c) pīr-ī < Per. pīr 'old'

/pīrī/ 'old age' (KL-299)

(d) dost-ī < Per. dost 'friend'

/dostī/ 'friendship' (DSN-273)

8. -mand = It indicates the possession of a thing or quality as in:

(a) hājat-mand < Ar. hājat 'need'

/hājatmand/ 'needful' (AD-64)

(b) dard-mand < Per. dard 'pain'

/dardmand/ 'painful' (QMD-129)

9. -var = It indicates the possession of a thing or quality as in:

(a) nām-var < Per. nām 'name'

/nāmvar/ 'famous' (AN-87)

10. -cī = It is a Turkish suffix. It is used to denote the agent:

- (a) xazān-cī < xazana 'treasure'
/xazancī/ 'cashier' (KK-237)
- (b) bāvar-cī < bavar 'confidence'
/bāvarcī/ 'cook' (KS-149)
- (c) mašal-cī < mašal 'torch'
/mašalcī/ 'torch-bearer' (AD-233)

11. -indā = It forms nouns of agency as in:

- (a) car-indā < Per. carī(dan) 'to graze'
/carindā/ 'animal' (AD-4)
- (b) par-indā < Per. parī(dan) 'to fly'
/parindā/ 'bird' (AD-4)

12. -nāk = It forms adjectives of quality as in:

- (a) ʿazab-nāk < Ar. ʿazab 'anger'
/ʿazabnāk/ 'angry' (KK-112)
- (b) dard-nāk < Per. dard 'pain'
/dardnāk/ 'painful'

4. Persian Suffixes added to Tadbhava words

1. -dān as in:

- (a) pān-dān < pān < Sk. parṇa 'leaf'
/pāndān/ 'betel-leaf box' (AL-175)

2. -ban as in :

- (a) $\tilde{u}t\text{-}b\tilde{a}n < \tilde{u}t$ Sk. $uṣṭra$ 'camel'
 / $\tilde{u}tb\tilde{a}n$ / 'camel driver' (KD-233)

5. Tadbhava Suffixes added to Perso-Arabic words.

1. -hat as in:

- (a) $und\bar{a}\text{-}h\hat{a}t < Ar. f\bar{u}ndah$ 'excellent'
 / $und\bar{a}h\hat{a}t$ / 'excellence' (KD-2)

2. -āī as in:

- (a) $narm\text{-}\bar{a}ī < Per. narm$ 'soft'
 / $narm\bar{a}ī$ / 'softness' (KD-37)

3. -pan, -panā as in:

- (a) $nah\bar{s}\text{-}p\bar{n}\bar{a} < Ar. nahs$ 'gloomy, unlucky'
 / $nahs\bar{p}an\bar{a}$ / 'gloominess' (KS-278)
 (b) $dīvān\bar{s}\text{-}pan < Per. dīvān$ 'mad'
 / $dīvān\bar{s}pan$ / 'madness' (KS-181)

CHAPTER 11

FORMATION OF COMPOUND WORDS

11.1 General Statement

Compound words are tatsama as well as tadbhava. Tatsamas are Sanskrit compounds and are quite rare in Urdu. Urdu is very rich in tadbhava compounds which may be termed as pure Urdu compounds. In such compounds both the components are tadbhava. Besides them, a large number of compounds come from Perso-Arabic sources, mainly from Persian. A few compounds may be treated as 'hybrid compounds' in which one component is tadbhava and the other a Perso-Arabic word.

11.2 Pure Urdu Compounds

Pure Urdu compounds may be classified into the following:

1. Copulative¹ Compounds or Dvandva
2. Determinative Compounds
3. Attributive Compounds or Bahuvirihī

1. Copulative Compounds or Dvandva

In copulative compounds both the components are syntactically co-ordinate or members of co-ordination, but the copula or co-ordinator (i.e. aur or haur 'and') which combines them is absent. Copulative compounds are formed in the following situations:

- (a) When two words (nouns, adjectives or verbs)

different in meaning are compounded as in -

¹ John T. Platts calls it 'collective' in A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language, p. 220.

1. Both nouns:

- /rāt-din/ 'day and night' (DF-231)
 /din-rain/ 'day and night' (BK-32)
 /rain-din/ 'night and day' (BK-39)
 /cād-sūraj/ 'moon and sun' (KK-122)
 /bāp-mā/ 'father and mother' (KK-122)
 /bhai-bhatijā/ 'brother and nephew' (AN-219)

2. Both adjectives:

- /ūc-nīc/ 'high and low' (AN-83)
 /choṭā-barā/ 'small and big' (AN-142)
 /bhūkī-pyāsi/ 'hungry and thirsty' (AN-189)

3. Both verbs or derivations of verbs:

- /hāsan-khelaṇ/ 'to laugh and play' (BK-39)
 /uthaṇ-baiṭhaṇ/ 'to stand and sit' (BK-61)
 /mācte-kūḍte/ 'dancing and jumping' (DF-234)

(b) When two words having the same or equivalent meanings are compounded as in -

- /tan-badan/ 'body' (BK-37)
 /ānand-sukh/ 'happiness' (BK-60)
 /diyā-bāṭī/ 'lamp or candle' (BK-58)
 /kaṅkar-paṭṭhar/ 'pebbles' (AN-118)
 /samjhā-bujhā/ 'advisedly' (AN-229)

To this class may also belong the compounds in which one member is *tadbhava* and the other a Perso-Arabic word. Such compounds are called *hybrid*. Here are a few examples of this type of compounds:

/baurī-divānī/ 'lunatic' (BK-50)

/dard-dukh/ 'suffering' (BK-58)

/sadic-sacā/ 'true' (AN-36)

/sakar-chand/ 'trick' (AN-55)

/xāk-dhāl/ 'dust' (DF-228)

/tan-man/ 'body and soul' (BK-36)

/gul-phul/ 'flower' (KS-148)

(c) when one of the two words is a meaningless one and used merely to rhyme or jingle with the other, e.g.

/ban-than/ 'decking' (BK-53)

/lūt-lāt/ 'plundering' (AN-215)

/mar-dhār/ 'killing' (AN-230)

/bhār-bhār/ 'rush' (DA-112)

(d) when the place of copulative conjunction is supplied by a vowel, mainly by the Persian conjunctive particle -e-, e.g.

/chap-e-chap/ 'sound produced by killing with sword' (AN-212)

/rat-o-rat/ 'all night long' (AK-121)

2. Determinative Compounds

Determinative compounds are those in which the first member determines or qualifies the second or the first member is syntactically dependent on the second. The Indian grammarians recognise the following three main of this compound:

A. Dependent determinative compound or Tatpuruṣa.

B. Appositional determinative compounds or Karmadhāraya.

C. Numeral determinative compounds or Dvigu.

John Beames has also discussed Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya and Dviga.²

A. Dependent Determinative Compounds

These are the compounds in which the relationship between the two members is expressed by different cases such as accusative, dative, genitive, locative etc. and the forms indicating these cases are dropped, e.g.

/pan-cakkī/ 'water-mill' (DSN-327)

/urān-khatolā/ 'flying cot' (DA-164)

/rukḥ-bacan/ 'message' (BK-41)

/barsāt-rut/ 'rainy season' (H.-43)

/pan-ghat/ 'quay' (DF-230)

/sukh-sāgar/ 'sea of happiness' (WD-113)

/chatr-petī/ 'king or chieftain', lit. 'carrying umbrella' (SD-41)

² A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, pp.125-29)

/kan-phūl/ 'ear-ring' (DF-242)

/cāo-gavār/ 'village-rustic' (SD-77)

/phul-jharī/ 'a kind of firework' (DF-182)

B. Appositional Determinative Compounds

In this form of compound at least one of the members is used attributively, e.g.

/mahā-rāj/ 'majesty, excellency' (SB-18)

/lāl-bādal/ 'red cloud' (DF-199)

/pur-nimāsī/ 'full moon' (SD-184)

/sancal-nār/ 'restless woman' (DF-238)

/majdhār/ 'mid-stream' (DA-135)

C. Numeral Determinative Compounds

In such compounds the first member is a numeral, e.g.

/pac-lari/ 'consisting of five strings of pearls'
(DF-242)

/cāu-gunā/ 'fourfold' (SB-25)

/nau-ratan/ 'the nine gems' (SB-57)

/nau-khand/ 'the nine divisions' (AN-155)

/dūnā/ 'double' (BK-118)

/dohre/ 'couplets' (BK-55)

/dupahrī/ 'midday' (BK-61)

/barah-singhā/ 'stag' (SD-58)

3. Attributive Compounds

Attributive compound is also called possessive compound.³ It is the compound which as a whole is generally

3. John T. Platts, A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language, p.222.

an adjective which denotes a quality or attribute belonging to some person or thing. Various determinative compounds may be used as attributives by changing them into adjectives. Examples are -

/chand-bharī/ 'tricky' (DF-237)

/adh-jalā/ 'half-burnt' (NB-87)

/kancan baran/ 'having gold colour' (DF-240)

11.3 Perso-Arabic Compounds

Perso-Arabic compounds may also be classified into:

1. Copulative Compounds
2. Determinative Compounds and
3. Attributive Compounds

In addition to these compounds there are certain nominal and adjectival phrases which perform the same function. John A. Boyle regards them as a kind of 'loose compounds'.⁴

1. Copulative Compounds

It corresponds to the *dvandva* of tatsama and *tadbhava*. It has three forms in Urdu.

(a) When two words different or same in meaning are compounded and conjunction is omitted, e.g.

1. Different in meanings:

/zanīn-namān/ 'earth and sky' (AN-46)

/pidar-mādar/ 'father and mother' (AN-70)

/aftāb-māhtāb/ 'sun and moon' (AN-87)

/taxt-tāj/ 'throne and crown' (AN-125)

4. Grammar of Modern Persian (Liesbaden, 1966) p.55.

/ali-rātina/ 'Ali and Fatima' (AN-161)

/zulm-jabr/ 'oppression and force' (AN-161)

/Isā-mūsā/ 'Christ and Moses' (AN-169)

2. Same in Meaning:

/fahm-aql/ 'sense, wisdom' (AN-37)

/mehnat-mušaqqaṭ/ 'toll' (AN-125)

/ḥor-gogā/ 'uproar' (AN-101)

Note: Most of these compounds follow the rules of Sanskrit grammar as in -

sk. pitṛ-mātṛ > pitar-mādar 'father and mother' (AN-7)

(b) When two members different or same are compounded by means of the vowel -ā- as in

/gird-ā-gird/ 'all sides' (KK-147)

/rang-ā-rang/ 'many-coloured' (BK-53)

(c) When two members are compounded by the preposition -ba- 'to' etc. as in-

/manzil-ba-manzil/ 'destination to destination' (AN-50)

/yak-ba-yak/ 'all of a sudden', lit. one by one' (AN-70)

/dam-ba-dam/ 'moment by moment' (D.M-153)

/dar-ba-dar/ 'door to door' (DF-200)

2. Determinative Compounds

Determinative compounds of Perso-Arabic origin are subdivided into the following:

A. Dependent Determinative compounds corresponding
to the Tatpuruṣa

B. Appositional Determinative compounds corresponding
to the Karmadhāraya

C. Numeral Determinative compounds corresponding
to the Lvigu

D. Objective Determinative compounds

A. Dependent Determinative Compounds

- (a) jaṅg-nānā < jaṅg 'battle' + nānā 'book'
/jaṅg-nānā/ 'the book of battle' (AN-36)
- (b) top-xānā < top 'cannon' + xānā 'house'
/top-xānā/ 'artillery house' (LB-230)
- (c) dast-panāh < dast 'hand' + panāh 'protection'
/dast-panāh/ 'tongs' (LB-192)

B. Appositional Determinative Compounds

- (a) xuš-bū < xuš 'good' + bū 'smell'
/xuš-bū/ 'fragrant' (LB-123)
- (b) nau-behār < nau 'new' + behār 'spring'
/nau-behār/ 'early spring' (LB-32)

C. Numeral Determinative Compounds

- /do-ānā/ 'the two, prayer consisting of two genuflexions' (AN-45)
- /hazār-dāstān/ 'nightingales', lit., 'thousand stories' (LB-30)
- /do-ālan/ 'the two world' (AN-65)

/pañj-tan/ 'the five holy ones: Muhammad,

ʿĪsā, ʿAlī, Hasan and Husain (AR-237)

D. Objective Determinative Compounds

Such compounds are adjectives or nouns. In such a compound the first member is a noun governed by the second which is usually a verbal and sometimes a past participle, e.g.

(a) vafā-dār < vafā 'faith' + dār dastan 'to have'

/vafā-dār/ 'faithful' (LD-151)

(b) xudā-šānās < xudā 'God' + šānās < šānāxtan 'to know'

/xudā-šānās/ 'pious, godly' (LD-5)

(c) dil-casp < dil 'heart' + casp < caspidan 'to stick'

/dil-casp/ 'interesting' (LD-130)

(d) bādšāh-zādā < bādšāh 'king' + zādā 'born'

/bādšāh-zādā/ 'prince' (LD-192)

(e) gulāb + pāš < gulāb 'rose-water' + pāš < pāšidan

'to sprinkle'

/gulāp-pāš/ 'rose-water sprinkler' (LD-172)

3. Attributive Compounds

It corresponds to the bahuvirihī of tatsama and tadbhava. Urdu is very rich in Perso-Arabic attributive compounds. Examples are -

(a) koh-andām < koh 'mountain' + andām 'body'

/koh-andām/ 'having a huge body' (LD-105)

(b) xūb-sūrat < xūb 'good' + sūrat 'face'

/xūb-sūrat/ 'handsome faced' (LD-111)

- (c) rahm-dil < rahm 'mercy' + dil 'heart'
 /rahm-dil/ 'kind-hearted' (QMD-131)
- (d) xuš-rang < xuš 'good' + rang 'colour'
 /xuš-rang/ 'of a pretty colour' (QMD-157)
- (e) āli-šān < āli 'high' + šān 'grandeur'
 /āli-šān/ 'of a high rank' (QMD-189)
- (f) bad-baxt < bad 'bad' + baxt 'fortune'
 /bad-baxt/ 'unfortunate' (QMD-86)
- (g) xuš-āvāz < xuš 'good' + āvāz 'voice'
 /xuš-āvāz/ 'having a good voice' (QMD-64)
- (h) tīrā-baxt < tīrā 'gloomy' + baxt 'fortune'
 /tīrā-baxt/ 'unfortunate' (KK-125)
- (i) xurd-sāl < xurd 'small' + sāl 'year'
 /xurd-sāl/ 'child or baby' lit., 'having small age' (AN-132)
- (j) gum-rāh < gum 'lost' + rāh 'way'
 /gum-rāh/ 'one who has gone astray' (AN-163)
- (k) šakar-lab < šakar 'sugar' + lab 'lip'
 /šakar-lab/ 'have sweet lips' (LJK-306)

4. Loose Compounds

Loose Perso-Arabic Compounds have been discussed by John A. Boyle⁵. He has used the term 'loose compounds'.

5. Grammar of Modern Persian, p.53.

for certain types of nominal and adjectival phrases which perform the function of compounds. Loose compounds are formed when:

(i) Two nouns are joined by the conjunction -q- 'and' to express a single idea, e.g.

(a) āb-o-havā < āb 'water' + havā 'air'

/āb-o-havā/ 'climate' (DA-31)

(ii) Two nouns or a noun and adjective are joined by the -e- 'genitive' (isafat), e.g.

(a) mausan-e-gul < mausaz 'season' + gul 'flower'

/mausan-e-gul/ 'spring' (KM-167)

CHAPTER 12

NOUNS

12.1 Stems

Stems in OIA ended either in vowels or in consonants, e.g. bāḷaka 'boy' ghaṇi 'beauty' madhu 'honey' jagat 'world' candramaṇ 'moon' karmaṇ 'dead' etc.

During the MIA period the stems ending in consonants almost disappeared and there remained only those which ended in vowels. It was due to the change in the system of sounds during the course of time. In some of the words the final consonant was lost and in some other a new vowel was added. Due to this change in the final position of the word, almost all the stems ended in vowel in MIA, e.g., OIA vidyut 'lightning' and karmaṇ 'dead' became viḍu and kama in MIA. The process of change from consonant to vowel was accelerated in late MIA or Apabhraṃsa period as a result of which all stems in Apabhraṃsa ended in vowels.¹ At the time of the evolution of MIA languages the final vowels in some of the stems were weakened and ultimately disappeared in Urdu and the Prakrit words like kama 'dead' viḍu 'lightning', madhu 'honey' and ottha 'lip' became kam (KS-247), bi (BK-39) adh (DS-245) and hōth (KS-354) respectively.

Noun stems in Old and Middle Urdu end either in vowels or in consonants.

1. G.V. Tagore, Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃsa, p. 104.

1. Stems ending in Vowels

-ī

/hāthī/	'elephant'	(KS-179)
/roṭī/	'bread'	(KS-183)
/kahānī/	'story'	(BK-31)
/pothī/	'book'	(BK-39)
/pānī/	'water'	(KK-6)
/bhāī/	'brother'	(KK-7)
/parī/	'fairy'	(DP-193)
/kalī/	'bud'	(DP-196)
/rūī/	'cotton'	(DA-3)

-ā

/bājā/	'band'	(JSH-27)
/rājā/	'king'	(DHH-27)
/gadhā/	'ass'	(DA-36)
/larkā/	'boy'	(DA-37)
/chorā/	'horse'	(DA-76)
/piyā/	'lover'	(BK-36)
/kalejā/	'liver'	(KK-6)
/betā/	'son'	(KK-7)
/sabā/	'breeze'	(AN-38)
/kāṭā/	'thorn'	(KS-276)
/hiyā/	'heart'	(AN-60)

-ā

/dārū/	'medicine'	(BK-31)
/jugmū/	'fire-fly'	(BK-38)
/ābrū/	'honour'	(DSM-111)
/jū/	'brook'	(KS-254)
/āsū/	'tear'	(KS-276)

-o

/ghāo/	'wound'	(DSM-103)
/bhāo/	'rate'	(DSM-103)

Note: Stems ending in vowels generally end in long vowels -ī, -ā and -ū. The stems ending in -o are not many in number. The noun stems which end in -e are either plural or in oblique case. No stems in Urdu end in short vowels -i, -a and -u, except few Arabic disyllabic words ending in -a, e.g. /šama/ 'candle' (KS-189).

2. Stems ending in Consonants

-p

/bāp/	'father'	(DSM-26)
/sāp/	'snake'	(DA-78)
/dhūp/	'sun shine'	(BF-244)

-b

/šab/	'night'	(AN-39)
/bāb/	'chapter'	(DSM-105)

/lab/	'lip'	(DA-7)
/chab/	'beauty'	(DA-178)
	-bh	
/jibh/	'tongue'	(DA-171)
	-t	
/rut/	'season'	(BK-40)
/rāt/	'night'	(AN-38)
/jot/	'radiance'	(DA-5)
/xət/	'letter'	(DA-44)
/mīt/	'friend'	(DA-79)
/dāt/	'tooth'	(DA-110)
	-th	
/hāth/	'hand'	(DA-109)
/panth/	'path'	(DA-163)
	-d	
/nīd/	'sleep'	(BK-31)
/dard/	'pain'	(BK-31)
/lōd/	'lap'	(AN-39)
/madad/	'help'	(AN-38)
/bhed/	'secret'	(AN-62)
/cād/	'moon'	(DSK-9)
/āsād/	'free'	(DSK-92)

-dh

/dūdh/	'milk'	(DA-92)
/madh/	'honey'	(DF-245)

-t

/ī̃t/	'brick'	(DSH-4)
/hōt/	'lip'	(DA-39)
/hāt/	'market'	(DA-60)
/ghāt/	'quay'	(DA-60)
/ghāt̃/	'draught'	(DA-177)
/ūt̃/	'camel'	(KK-136)
/pet/	'stomach'	(KK-143)

-th

/pīth/	'back'	(DA-87)
/sāth/	'knot'	(DA-178)

-d

/rūd̃/	'widow'	(KK-163)
/bhad̃/	'buffon'	(DF-234)
/sūd̃/	'trunk'	(KG-55)

-ch

/rīch/	'bear'	(KB-97)
--------	--------	---------

-j

/fauj/	'army'	(BK-37)
/āj/	'today'	(DSH-26)

/ilāj/	'cure'	(DH-53)
/kāj/	'work'	(DA-70)
/sūraj/	'sun'	(DA-178)

-jh

/sāj ^h /	'evening'	(DF-195)
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-k

/namak/	'salt'	(KS-52)
/bhūk/	'hunger'	(BK-31)
/dānk/	'sting'	(BK-31)
/falak'	'sky'	(BK-36)
/tārik/	'dark'	(LF-200)

-kh

/pankh/	'wing'	(BK-40)
/makh/	'face'	(BK-41)
/sukh/	'relief'	(BK-52)
/ākh/	'eye'	(AH-38)
/dukh/	'pain'	(DHH-36)
/mārah/	'stupid'	(DA-46)

-g

/nāg/	'serpent'	(BK-31)
/āg/	'fire'	(BK-32)
/jag/	'world'	(DA-2)
/rāg/	'song'	(DF-238)

-gh

/māgh/	'a month'	(BK-53)
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-q

/iśq/	'love'	(BK-32)
/talāq/	'divorce'	(AH-57)
/sabaq/	'lesson'	(DA-164)
/bandūq/	'gun'	(DA-172)

-m

/ālam/	'world'	(BK-32)
/qadam/	'step'	(AH-38)
/paigām/	'message'	(AH-44)
/nām/	'name'	(DSH-31)
/kān/	'work'	(DA-38)

-n

/cānan/	'garden'	(KS-233)
/raīn/	'night'	(BK-32)
/dīn/	'day'	(BK-32)
/man/	'heart'	(BK-34)
/nain/	'eye'	(BK-44)
/kafan/	'shroud'	(DSH-5)
/pān/	'betel-leaf'	(DSH-22)
/xūn/	'blood'	(DA-79)
/darpan/	'mirror'	(DA-136)

-n

/nān/ 'ornament worn (DF-242)
on the top of
the head'

/ran/ 'colour' (DF-243)

-l

/aql/ 'intelligence' (BK-34)

/koel/ 'cuckoo' (BK-36)

/bāl/ 'hair' (AN-40)

/gul/ 'flower' (DA-3)

/gāl/ 'cheek' (DA-5)

/phūl/ 'flower' (DA-12)

/dhol/ 'drum' (DA-28)

-r

/ghar/ 'house' (BK-34)

/enbr/ 'patience' (BK-34)

/kar/ 'hand' (BK-36)

/nār/ 'woman' (BK-38)

/mār/ 'light' (AN-35)

/cādar/ 'sheet' (AN-37)

/par/ 'feather' (AN-40)

/patthar/ 'stone' (BSN-4)

/ruxsar/ 'cheek' (DA-2)

/hār/ 'wreath' (DA-35)

-r

/bhār/	'furnace for parching grains'	(DA-23)
/pahār/	'mountain'	(DA-99)
/dhar/	'headless body'	(KK-129)
/gur/	'molasses'	(DP-210)

-rh

/asārḥ/	'a month'	(BK-62)
/zaurf/	'fear'	(DA-161)
/sadarf/	'conch'	(DA-201)
/nāf/	'navel'	(DP-233)

-s

/ās/	'hope'	(DP-229)
/ās/	'head'	(DP-230)
/des/	'country'	(BK-41)
/bhes/		(BK-46)
/visvās/	'faith'	(DA-199)
/pyās/	'thirst'	(AH-62)

-s

/rags/	'brain'	(DA-145)
/rās/	'secret'	(DA-145)

-a

/sfa/	'luxury'	(DA-145)
	-x	
/dozax/	'hell'	(AH-35)

-g

/teg/	'sword'	(DA-2)
/bāg/	'garden'	(BK-41)
/dīnāg/	'brain'	(DBK-24)
/dāg/	'spot'	(DBK-24)
/carāg/	'lamp'	(DA-96)

-h

/birah/	'separation'	(BK-31)
/mah/	'face'	(BK-42)
/bādāsh/	'king'	(AH-52)
/māh/	'moon'	(DA-5)
/deh/	'body'	(DA-34)
/rah/	'way'	(DA-64)

Note: Stems ending in consonants do not end in -ph, -dh and -ś. Stems ending in semi-vowels are also very rare in Urdu.

12.2 Gender

There are only two genders, masculine and feminine in Old and Middle Urdu. CIA (Sanskrit) had three genders - masculine, feminine and neuter. These genders were also

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. n- < Per-Ar. n-

- /namak/ 'salt' (KS-75)
- /nasīm/ 'breeze' (KS-103)
- /nāzūk/ 'delicate' (DSN-171)
- /nabī/ 'prophet' (KK-136)
- /mār/ 'light' (SB-4)
- /navā/ 'voice' (SB-21)

Medial:

1. Ur. -n- < Per-Ar. n-

- /munar/ 'art' (DA-129)
- /gunacā/ 'bud' (DSN-202)
- /rauśnī/ 'light' (DSN-244)
- /manzil/ 'destination' (KK-134)
- /eannam/ 'idol' (SB-36)

Final:

1. Ur. -n < Per-Ar. -n

- /suxan/ 'poetry' (DA-114)
- /caman/ 'garden' (DA-114)
- /badan/ 'body' (KK-136)
- /vatan/ 'home country' (KK-137)
- /dušman/ 'enemy' (KK-170)

24. The Sources of Urdu /n/

(A) MIA and OIA

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -n- < MIA -n- < OIA -n-

(a) Ur. kaṅgan < MIA kaṅkana < OIA kankana
/kaṅgan/ 'bracelet' (DF-245)

2. Ur. -n- < OIA -n-

(a) Ur. naṅgā < MIA nagga < OIA nagna
/naṅgi/ 'nude, 'naked' (DF-237)

(B) Persian

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -n- < Per. -n-

/haṅgāmā/ 'tumult, uproar' (KF-294)

/saṅ/ 'stone' (KM-532)

25. The Sources of Urdu /l/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. l- < MIA l- < OIA l-

(a) Ur. log < MIA loga < OIA lōka

/log/ 'people' (BK-32)

(b) Ur. lāj < MIA lajja < OIA lajjā

/lāj/ 'shame' (BK-59)

(c) Ur. lakh, lākh < MIA lakkha < OIA laksa

/lakh/ 'lac' (DCM-162)

/lākh/ 'lac' (KS-132)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -l- ← MIA -l- ← OIA -r-

(a) Ur. cālīs ← MIA cattālīsa ← OIA catvārimśat
/cālīs/ 'forty' (KK-79)

2. Ur. -l- ← MIA -l- ← OIA -l-

(a) Ur. hoī ← MIA holiyā ← OIA holikā
/hoī/ 'Holi' (DF-199)

(b) Ur. dolī ← MIA dolīa ← OIA dolikā
/dolī/ 'litter' (KS-119)

3. Ur. -l- ← MIA -ll- ← OIA -dr-

(a) Ur. bhalā ← MIA bhalla ← OIA bhadra
/bhalā/ 'good' (Ht, JSI-236)

4. Ur. -l- ← MIA -l- ← OIA -l-

(a) Ur. kājal ← MIA kajjala ← OIA kajjala
/kājal/ 'collyrium' (DF-200)

(b) Ur. phul ← MIA phulla ← OIA phulla
/phul/ 'flower' (KS-98)

(c) Ur. gāl ← MIA galla ← OIA galla
/gāl/ 'cheek' (DF-239)

5. Ur. -l- MIA -ll- ← OIA -l-

(a) Ur. tel ← MIA tella ← OIA taila
/tel/ 'oil' (KS-214)

6. Ur. -l- MIA -ll- ← OIA -ly-

(a) Ur. mol ← MIA molla ← OIA mūlya
/mol/ 'price' (KS-166)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. l- < Per-Ar. l-

/lab/ 'lip' (Hj, JSI-209)

/lahū/ 'blood' (MMJK-304)

/libās/ 'dress' (SB-33)

Medial:

1. Ur. -l- < Per-Ar. -l-

/hālat/ 'condition' (QMD-134)

/zulm/ 'cruelty' (AN-55)

/gulām/ 'slave' (AN-71)

/ālam/ 'world' (AN-129)

/ulfat/ 'love' (Ar, JSI-186)

/falak/ 'sky' (SB-13)

Final:

1. Ur. -l < Per-Ar. -l

/dil/ 'heart' (AN-61)

/āl/ 'descendants' (AN-101)

/gul/ 'flower' (MMJK-300)

/savāl/ 'question' (MMJK-312)

26. The Sources of Urdu /r/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. r- < MIA r- < OIA r-

(a) Ur. r- rāt < MIA ratti < OIA rātri

/rāt/ 'night' (KB-72)

2. Ur. r- < MIA r- < OIA r-

(a) Ur. rīch < MIA riccha < OIA rksa
/rīch/ 'bear' (KS-184)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -r- < MIA -r- < OIA -r-

(a) Ur. birah < MIA viraha < OIA viraha
/birah/ 'separation' (BK-37)

2. Ur. -r < MIA -r- < OIA -r-

(a) Ur. cor < MIA cora < OIA caura
/cor/ 'thief' (KS-130)

(b) Ur. camār < MIA cammañr < OIA carmakār
/camār/ 'cobler' (KS-121)

(c) Ur. bandar < MIA vānara < OIA vānara
/bandar/ 'monkey' (KS-148)

3. Ur. -r < MIA -r- < OIA -r-

(a) Ur. ghar < MIA ghara < OIA grha
/ghar/ 'house' (QND-10)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. r- < Per-Ar. r-

/rūh/ 'soul' (KK-68)

/rās/ 'secret' (Sz, JSII-456)

/roz/ 'daily' (Sz, JSII-463)

Medial:

1. Ur. -r- < Per-Ar. -r-

/fareb/ 'deception' (Sz, JSII-459)

/farzand/ 'son' (Sz, JSII-463)

/turbat/ 'tomb' (DOM-118)

/ārāḍ/ 'desire' (QMD-152)

Final:

1. Ur. -r < Per-Ar. -r

/gubār/ 'dust' (KK-67)

/abr/ 'cloud' (KK-71)

/dīvār/ 'wall' (Sz, JSII-456)

/asīr/ 'imprisoned' (Sz, JSII-459)

/ajar/ 'reward' (DOM-127)

27. The Sources of Urdu /r/

(A) MIA and OIA

Medial and final:

1. Ur. r- < MIA d- < OIA ṭ-

(a) Ur. ghorā < MIA ghodaḥ < OIA ghotaka

/ghorā/ 'horse' (KS-125)

(b) Ur. kaprā < MIA kappāḥ < OIA karpata

/kaprā/ 'clothe' (KS-152)

(c) Ur. kīrā < MIA kīḍa < OIA kīṭa

/kīrā/ 'worm' (KS-81)

(d) Ur. jūrā < MIA judāḥ < OIA jutaka

/jūrā/ 'knot of hair' (DF-237)

- (e) Ur. makrī < MIA makkadia < OIA markatīkā
/makrī/ 'spider' (KS-242)

28. The Sources of Urdu /rh/

(A) MIA and OIA

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -rh- < MIA -ddh- < OIA -rdah-
(a) Ur. būrhā < MIA buddha < OIA vrdha
/būrhā/ 'old' (KS-206)
2. Ur. -rh- < MIA -ddh- < OIA -rdh-
(a) Ur. barhāi < MIA baddhakia < OIA vardhākan
/barhāi/ 'carpenter' (KB-98)
(b) Ur. derh < MIA diyaddha < OIA diviardha
/derh/ 'one and a half' (KS-140)
3. Ur. -rh- < MIA -dh- < OIA -dh-
(a) Ur. asārḥ < MIA āsādha < OIA āsādha
/asārḥ/ 'a month' (DK-63)

29. The Sources of Urdu /f/

(A) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. f- < Per-Ar. f-
/fikr/ 'thought' (KS-78)
/faryād/ 'cry for help' (KS-93)
/fereb/ 'deceit' (KS-347)
/fazl/ 'grace' (DI-223)
/falak/ 'sky' (DI-224)

Medial:

1. Ur. -f- < Per-Ar. -f-

/vafā/ 'love, faith' (KS-87)

/āftāb/ 'sun' (KM-283)

/tūfān/ 'storm' (KM-283)

/giraftār/ 'arrest' (KM-311)

/qafas/ 'cage' (KM-320)

/raftār/ 'gait' (KM-336)

Final:

1. Ur. -l < Per-Ar. -l

/sulf/ 'lock of hair' (KS-86)

/insāf/ 'justice' (KS-89)

/sāf/ 'clean' (DF-239)

/nāf/ 'navel' (DF-239)

30. The Sources of Urdu /s/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. s- < MIA s- < OIA s-

(a) Ur. [~]sāc, sac < MIA sacca < OIA satya

/sāc/ 'true' (BK-44)

/sac/ 'true' (KK-120)

(b) Ur. sāt < MIA satta < OIA sapta

/sāt/ 'seven' (KK-115)

(c) Ur. sāp < MIA sappa < OIA sarpa

/sāp/ 'snake' (DA-78)

2. Ur. s- < MIA s- < OIA ś-

- (a) Ur. sārī < MIA sādīā < OIA śātīkā
/sārī/ 'long piece of cloth
worn by females' (DF-215)
- (b) Ur. sej < MIA sejja < OIA śajyā
/sej/ 'bedstead' (BK-43)
- (c) Ur. sis < MIA sīsa < OIA śīrṣa
/sis/ 'forehead' (KK-116)
- (d) Ur. sāvan < MIA sāvana < OIA śrāvan
/sāvan/ 'a month' (BK-37)
- (e) Ur. sāg < MIA sāga < OIA sāka
/sāg/ 'vegetables' (KS-139)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -s- < MIA -ss- < OIA -śr-

- (a) Ur. āsū < MIA assu < OIA aśru
/āsū/ 'tear' (DD-116)

2. Ur. -s < MIA -s < OIA -s

- (a) Ur. ghās < MIA ghāsa < OIA ghāsa
/ghās/ 'grass' (KS-118)
- (b) Ur. kis < MIA kissa < OIA kasya
/kis/ 'who, whom' (KS-223)

3. Ur. -s MIA -s- < OIA ś

- (a) Ur. das < MIA dasa < OIA daśa
/das/ 'ten' (KK-230)
- (b) Ur. chattis < OIA sattrimśat
/chattis/ 'thirty six' (KS-108)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. s- ← Per-Ar. s-

- /sāl/ 'year' (DQM-149)
- /sitam/ 'oppression' (DQM-159)
- /sāyā/ 'shadow' (SB-4)
- /sabab/ 'cause' (SB-5)
- /sath/ 'level' (SB-34)

2. Ur. s- ← Ar. ṣ - and š-

- /samar/ 'fruit' (DQM-166)
- /sabā/ 'breeze' (DD-115)
- /sāf/ 'clear, clean' (SB-11)
- /said/ 'prey' (SB-12)

Medial:

1. Ur. -s- ← Per-Ar. s

- /dost/ 'friend' (DQM-153)
- /rasūl/ 'prophet' (DQM-155)
- /sīst/ 'life' (DD-112)
- /insān/ 'human being' (SB-44)

2. Ur. -s- ← Ar. ṣ and -š-

- /asar/ 'effect' (SB-19)
- /misl/ 'like' (SB-33)
- /subh/ 'morning' (SB-49)
- /qasd/ 'intention' (DQM-150)

Final:

1. Ur. -s ← Per-Ar. -s

/majlis/ 'assembly' (DF-196)

/libās/ 'dress' (DF-205)

/māyūs/ 'disappointed' (SB-20)

2. Ur. -s ← Ar. ṣ and -ṣ

/suls/ 'third portion' (SB-29)

/xās/ 'special' (SB-34)

/raqs/ 'dance' (SB-42)

/muxlis/ 'devoted, sincere' (DF-206)

31. The Sources of Urdu /z/

(A) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. z- ← Per-Ar. z-

/zinda, ānī/ 'life' (DA-72)

/zaxm/ 'wound' (AN-136)

/zamī/ 'earth' (AN-145)

/zahr/ 'poison' (DN-99)

/zulf/ 'lock of hair' (DN-283)

/zāg/ 'crow' (SB-42)

/zar/ 'gold' (SB-50)

/zohrā/ 'venus' (SB-95)

2. Ur. z < Ar. z , z and z-

- /sikr/ 'mention' (DSH-99)
- /sula/ 'cruelty' (DSH-106)
- /sayāfat/ 'banquet' (DSH-188)
- /sahūr/ 'appearance' (SB-48)

Medials:

1. Ur. -z- < Per-Ar. -z-

- /nāzūk/ 'delicate' (DSH-52)
- /āzād/ 'free' (DSH-56)
- /azal/ 'eternity' (AH-101)
- /sazā/ 'punishment' (AH-131)
- /sabān/ 'tongue' (SB-82)
- /vazīr/ 'minister' (SB-12)

2. Ur. -z- < Ar. -z- , -z- and -z-

- /tāzīm/ 'respect' (DSH-95)
- /lazzat/ 'taste' (DSH-140)
- /rasā/ 'consent' (DSH-245)
- /hāsir/ 'present' (KS-93)
- /māzī/ 'past' (SB-36)

Finals:

1. Ur. -z < Per-Ar. -z

- /āvāz/ 'voice' (DSH-55)
- /sabs/ 'green' (DSH-92)
- /nāz/ 'coyness' (DA-88)
- /roz/ 'day' (SB-30)
- /intiyās/ 'distinction' (SB-63)

2. Ur. -z < Ar. -ẓ , -ẓ and -ẓ̣

/nabz/ 'pulse' (KS-138)

/hauz/ 'tank' (SB-31)

/kāgaz/ 'paper' (DSN-96)

/mahfūz/ 'safe' (DSN-126)

23. The Sources of Urdu /š/

(A) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. š- < Per-Ar. š-

/šor/ 'noise' (S1, MR)

/šāh/ 'king' (S1, MR)

/šahīd/ 'martyr' (S1, MR)

/šahādat/ 'martyrdom' (KK-194)

/šak/ 'doubt' (KK-206)

/šarāb/ 'wine' (KK-235)

/šart/ 'condition' (SB-4)

/šarāb/ 'wine' (SB-7)

Medial:

1. Ur. -š- < Per-Ar. -š-

/cašm/ 'eye' (QR, MR)

/dušman/ 'forehead' (KK-205)

/xušk/ 'dry' (KK-262)

/āšiq/ 'lover' (SB-45)

/pošīdā/ 'hidden' (SB-46)

- /hoš/ 'sense' (KK-246)
 /aiš/ 'pleasure' (SB-36)
 /sifāriš/ 'recommendation' (KK-273)

33. The Sources of Urdu /ž/

(A) Persian

Initial:

1. Ur. ž- < Per. ž-

- /žālā/ 'hailstone' (DA-208)

Medial:

1. Ur. -ž- < Per. -ž-

- /mišgā/ 'eyelashes' (KM-109)
 /mišah/ 'eyelash' (KM-146)
 /pašmardā/ 'faded' (KM-271)

34. The Sources of Urdu /x/

(A) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. x- < Per-Ar. x-

- /xatar/ 'danger' (KM-223)
 /xān/ 'blood' (KM-239)
 /xušk/ 'dry' (KM-271)
 /xirzan/ 'stack, heap' (KM-293)
 /xauḥ/ 'fear' (SB-56)
 /xabar/ 'news' (KS-228)

Medial:

1. Ur. -x- < Per-Ar. -x-

/duxtar/ 'daughter' (KB-287)

/baxt/ 'luck, fortune' (KI-237)

/daraxt/ 'tree' (SB-49)

Final:

1. Ur. -x- < Per-Ar. -x-

/dosax/ 'hell' (KS-223)

/carx/ 'sky' (KS-227)

/rux/ 'face' (KS-258)

/šāx/ 'branch' (KS-258)

/zanax/ (pit in the) 'chin' (DA-59)

35. The Sources of Urdu /g/

(A) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. g- < Per-Ar. g-

/gam/ 'sorrow' (BK-76)

/galat/ 'wrong' (MJK-293)

/gubār/ 'dust' (Sz, JSII-462)

Medial:

1. Ur. -g- < Per-Ar. -g-

/dagā/ 'deceit' (BK-52)

/sagar/ 'cup' (Sz, JSII-458)

/agyār/ 'others' (Sz, JSII-459)

Final:

1. Ur. -g < Per-Ar. -g

/bāg/ 'garden' (BK-41)

/tag/ 'sword' (AN-83)

/dināg/ 'brain' (KM-632)

36. The Sources of Urdu /h/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. h- < MIA h- < OIA h-, 0 -

(a) Ur. hāth, hāt < MIA hattha < OIA hasta

/hāth/ 'hand' (KS-87)

/hāt/ 'hand' (DGM-108)

(b) Ur. hāthī MIA hatthi OIA hastin

/hāthī/ 'elephant' (KS-179)

(c) Ur. holī, horī MIA holia OIA holika

/holī/ 'festival of Holi' (BK-54)

/horī/ 'festival of Holi' (BK-55)

(d) Ur. hōṭ, hōṭh MIA hotṭha OIA oṭṭha

/hōṭ/ 'lip' (KM-252)

/hōṭh/ 'lip' (KM-349)

Medial and Final:

1. Ur. h- < MIA -h- < OIA -dh-

(a) Ur. dahī < MIA dahi < OIA dādhī

/dahī/ 'curd' (KS-136)

2. Ur. -h- < MIA -h- < OIA -bh-

(a) Ur. gadhā < MIA gaddaha < OIA gardabha
/gadhā/ 'ass' (KS-108)

3. Ur. -h- < MIA -h- < OIA -kh-

(a) Ur. mūh < MIA muha < OIA mukha
/mūh/ 'mouth' (KS-71)

4. Ur. -h- < MIA -h- < OIA -th

(a) Ur. kah(nā) < MIA kah < OIA / kath
/kah/ 'say (imp.)' (EK-40)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. h- < Per-Ar. h- and Ar. h-

/hamesa/ 'always' (DA-69)
/hoš/ 'consciousness' (KS-266)
/husn/ 'beauty' (KS-225)
/hurmat/ 'respect' (SB-7)

Medial:

1. Ur. -h- < Per-Ar. -h- and Ar. -h-

/ahmaq/ 'stupid' (KS-172)
/sahar/ 'morning' (KS-207)
/mašhūr/ 'famous' (KS-192)
/zāhir/ 'apparent' (KS-193)
/sohbat/ 'company' (SB-15)

Final:

1. Ur. -h Per-Ar. < -h and Ar. -h
 /subh/ 'morning' (KS-138)
 /koh/ 'mountain' (DA-85)
 /rāh/ 'way' (DA-100)
 /siyāh/ 'black' (KS-255)
 /lahh/ 'tablet, plate' (SB-3)

37. The Sources of Urdu /v/

(A) MIA and OIA

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -v- < OIA -v-

- (a) Ur. saṣerā < OIA sa + velā

/saṣerā/ 'dawn' (KS-79)

- (b) Ur. sāṣan < MIA sāṣana < OIA śrāṣana

/sāṣan/ 'a month' (BK-37)

- (c) Ur. sāṣrā < MIA sāṣalā < OIA syāmalaka

/sāṣrā/ 'lover', lit., 'blue black' (BK-40)

- (d) Ur. dhuvā < MIA dhuvaa < OIA dhūma + ka

/dhuvā/ 'smoke' (KS-180)

- (e) Ur. viṣvās < OIA viśvāsa

/viṣvās/ 'belief' (CHD-91)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. v- < Per-Ar. w-

/vafā/ 'faith' (KH-628)

/vādī/ 'valley' (KH-714)

/varaḡ/ 'sheet of paper' (KS-170)

/vaqt/ 'time' (KS-181)

/vasl/ 'union' (KS-218)

Medial:

1. Ur. -v < Per-Ar. -w-

/dīvār/ 'wall' (KS-211)

/dīvānā/ 'mad' (DSN-181)

/dāvā/ 'medicine' (KS-137)

/halvāf/ 'confectioner' (KS-160)

/adāvat/ 'enmity' (KS-211)

Final:

1. Ur. -v < Ar. -w

/sahv/ 'error' (KS-170)

38. The Sources of Urdu /y/

(A) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. -y- < Per-Ar. -y-

/yār/ 'friend' (KM-628)

/yaqīn/ 'faith' (CMD-279)

/yād/ 'memory' (KM-694)

Medial:

1. Ur. -y- < Per-Ar. -y-

/dunyā/ 'world' (CMD-93)

/ziyādā/ 'more' (CMD-282)

/tarbiyat/ 'training' (QID-289)

/šāyad/ 'perhaps' (KH-651)

/ravā/ 'flowing' (KH-655)

/hayā/ 'pudency' (KH-672)

/siyāh/ 'black' (KH-698)

Note: Semi-vowels /v/ and /y/ generally do not occur in tadbhava words in Urdu. CIA /v/ and /y/, with few exceptions, are changed into /b/ and /j/ respectively, e.g.

CIA viraha > Urd. birah 'separation' (BK-37)

CIA yatna > Ur. jatan 'care' (BK-49)

CIA sūrya > Ur. sūraj 'sun' (DT-199)

CHAPTER 8

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

8.1 Vowel Changes

1. Loss of Final Vowels

The final vowels of OIA whether long or short were continued down to late MIA, but disappeared in Urdu.

Examples are -

1. OIA -a > MIA -a > Ur. 0

(a) OIA mukha > MIA mukha > Ur. mukh

/mukh/ 'face' (DF-205)

(b) OIA jaga > MIA jaga > Ur. jag

/jag/ 'world' (DF-209)

(c) OIA danta > MIA danta > Ur. dāt

/dāt/ 'tooth' (KS-52)

(d) OIA aṣṭa > MIA atṭha > Ur. āth

/āth/ 'eight' (KS-88)

(e) OIA kṣetra > MIA khetra > Ur. khet

/khet/ 'field' (KS-104)

2. OIA -ā > MIA -ā > Ur. -Ø

(a) OIA vārtā > MIA vattā > Ur. bat

/bat/ 'talk' (BK-51)

(b) OIA nidrā > MIA niddā > Ur. nīd

/nīd/ 'sleep' (BK-31)

(c) OIA āśā > MIA āsā > Ur. ās

/ās/ 'hope' (BK-46)

3. OIA -i > MIA -i > Ur. -Ø

(a) OIA chavi MIA chabi Ur. chab

/chab/ 'beauty' (DF-209)

(b) OIA granthi MIA ganthi Ur. gāth

/gāth/ 'knot' (KS-210)

(c) OIA rātri MIA rattī Ur. rāt

/rāt/ 'night' (DF-205)

(d) OIA mūrti MIA mutti Ur. mūrat

/mūrat/ 'idol' (KS-74)

4. OIA -ī MIA -ī Ur. -Ø

(a) OIA bhagini MIA bahinī Ur. bahen

/bahen/ 'sister' (KK-187)

2. Aphaeresis

It is the elision of initial vowels. It occurs in the case of words which are compounded with the prepositions ati 'beyond', adhi 'over', anu 'after', apa 'off', api 'on', abhi 'towards', ava 'down', at 'up', upa 'below'.¹ Owing to stress on non-initial syllables, an original short vowel is dropped. Examples in Urdu are -

(a) OIA abhyantara Ur. bhitar, bhitar

/bhitar/ 'inside' (AN-37)

/bhitar/ 'inside' (AN-37)

1. John Beams, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India p. 175.

- (b) OIA abhyuttejayati > Ur. bujhā
 /bujhā/ 'extinguished' (KL-110)

3. Anaptyxis

In anaptyxis a vowel is inserted between the consonantal sequences which are difficult to pronounce. The consonant clusters of Sanskrit whether final or initial are invariably broken in Urdu by the insertion of a vowel. A number of Perso-Arabic words also show the feature of anaptyxis. Examples are -

1. Sanskrit:

- (a) Sk. yatna > Ur. jatan
 /jatan/ 'effort' (BK-32)
- (b) Sk. pradesa > Ur. pades
 /pades/ 'foreign country' (BK-42)
- (c) Sk. candra > Ur. cādar
 /cādar/ 'moon' (DP-197)
- (d) Sk. agni > Ur. agan
 /agan/ 'fire' (DP-247)
- (e) Sk. gupta > Ur. gupat
 /gupat/ 'hidden' (AN-34)
- (f) Sk. prakata > Ur. pargat
 /pargat/ 'apparent' (AN-34)
- (g) Sk. varsa > Ur. baras
 /baras/ 'year' (KS-213)

{h) Sk. prīti > Ur. pirit

/pirit/ 'love' (DF-223)

{i) Sk. mūrkhā > Ur. mūrakh

/mūrakh/ 'stupid' (DA-46)

2. Persian and Arabic:

(a) Ar. xatm > Ur. xatam

/xatam/ 'end' (AN-34)

(b) Per. marg > Ur. marag

/marag/ 'death' (DOM-123)

(c) Ar. hukm > Ur. hukan

/hukan/ 'order' (AN-50)

(d) Per. daraxt > Ur. darxat

/darxat/ 'tree' (AN-88)

(e) Ar. qatl > Ur. qatal

/qatal/ 'murder' (AN-107)

(f) Ar. tifi > Ur. tifi

/tifi/ 'child' (AN-132)

(g) Per. sabz > Ur. sabas

/sabas/ 'green' (DOM-158)

(h) Per. taxt > Ur. taxat

/taxat/ 'throne' (DOM-159)

{i) Ar. zulm > Ur. zulam

/zulam/ 'cruelty' (BK-49)

{j) Ar. sabr > Ur. sabar

/sabar/ 'patience' (BK-52)

Note: The breaking of consonant clusters is a common phenomenon only in Old and Early Middle Urdu. This, however, does not happen in late Middle Urdu period.

4. Prothesis of vowels

In Urdu the prothetic vowel is found in a very small number words of Sanskrit origin, e.g.

Sk. snāna > Ur. aśnān

/asnān/ 'bath' (DF-238)

5. Lengthening of Vowels

OIA and MIA short vowels in initial syllables become long in Urdu with consonantal simplification. This is also known as compensatory lengthening, e.g.

1. OIA -a- > MIA -a- > Ur. ā

(a) OIA satya > MIA sacca > Ur. sāc

/sāc/ 'truth' (BK-44)

Note: Its another form /sac/ is also found in the texts.

(b) OIA adya > MIA ajja > Ur. āj

/āj/ 'today' (DF-231)

(c) OIA patra > MIA patta > Ur. pātī

/pātī/ 'letter' (DF-247)

(d) OIA karma > MIA kamma > Ur. kām

/kām/ 'work' (KS-88)

- (e) OIA danta > MIA danta > Ur. $\tilde{d}āt$
 / $\tilde{d}āt$ / 'tooth' (KS-123)
- (f) OIA aśru > MIA assu > Ur. $\tilde{a}ṣū$
 / $\tilde{a}ṣū$ / 'tear' (KK-73)

2. OIA -i- > MIA -i- > Ur. -ī-

- (a) OIA jihva > MIA jibbha > Ur. $jīb̄h$
 / $jīb̄h$ / 'tongue' (QMD-123)
- (b) OIA bhikṣa > MIA bhikkha > Ur. $bhīk̄$, $bhīkh̄$
 / $bhīk̄$ / 'begging' (BK-35)
 / $bhīkh̄$ / 'begging' (KM-139)
- (c) OIA mīṣṭa > MIA mīṭṭha > Ur. $mīṭhā$
 / $mīṭhā$ / 'sweet' (KS-126)
- (d) OIA iṣṭa > MIA iṭṭa > Ur. $\tilde{i}ṭ$
 / $\tilde{i}ṭ$ / 'brick' (KS-115)
- (e) OIA mitra > MIA mitta > Ur. $mīt̄$
 / $mīt̄$ / 'friend' (DQM-131)

3. OIA -u- > MIA -u- > Ur. -ū-

- (a) OIA dugdha > MIA duddha > Ur. $dūdh̄$
 / $dūdh̄$ / 'milk' (KS-149)
- (b) OIA putra > MIA putta > Ur. $pūt̄$
 / $pūt̄$ / 'son' (KS-140)
- (c) OIA uṣṭra > MIA uṭṭa > Ur. $\tilde{u}ṭ̄$
 / $\tilde{u}ṭ̄$ / 'camel' (KS-116)

6. Shortening of Vowels

OIA ā before a sibilant is shortened to a in Urdu with or without the doubling of the following consonant, e.g.

1. OIA ā > Ur. a

- (a) OIA āsādhā > Ur. asārḥ
/assārḥ/ 'a month' (BK-62)
- (b) OIA āścarya > Ur. acraḥ
/acraḥ/ 'wonder' (DA-120)

This feature is also noted in Perso-Arabic words,

e.g.

- (a) Ar. mātam > Ur. matam
/matam/ 'mourning' (AN-46)
- (b) Per. āftāb > Ur. aftāb
/aftāb/ 'sun' (AN-87)
- (c) Per. āsmān > Ur. asman
/asman/ 'sky' (AN-173)

Note: This is not the case everywhere. In some other situations they occur with long vowels such as mātam, āftāb and āsmān.

7. Omission of Inter-consonantal Vowels

The inter-consonantal vowels in the second syllable of the Perso-Arabic words are often omitted. This happens mostly with the disyllabic words. Āshūr Nāma abounds in this feature. Examples are -

(a) Ar. sifat > Ur. sift

/sift/ 'attribute' (AN-35)

(b) Ar. qasam > Ur. qasm

/qasm/ 'oath' (AN-235)

Note: This does not happen everywhere. We also find sifat, qasam etc.

8. Treatment of OIA ṛ

In Vedic and classical Sanskrit the sound ṛ was counted as vowel but disappeared in Prakrit. In Urdu it is changed into ri. When it occurs medially and finally it is changed into vowel, e.g.

1. OIA -ṛ- > MIA -i- > Ur. ī-

(a) OIA pr̥ṣṭha > MIA piṭṭha > Ur. pīṭh

/pīṭh/ 'back' (KS-181)

(b) OIA dr̥ṣṭi > MIA diṭṭhi > Ur. dīṭh

/dīṭh/ 'vision' (KB-80)

(c) OIA mātṛ > MIA māi > Ur. māl

/māl/ 'mother' (BK-47)

2. OIA -ṛ- > MIA -u- > Ur. -ū-

(a) OIA vr̥ddha > MIA buddha > Ur. būṛhā, būdhā

/būṛhā/ 'old' (KS-206)

/būdhā/ 'old' (KK-247)

3. OIA -ṛ- > MIA -i- > Ur. -i- and -a-

(a) OIA *mṛttikā* > MIA *mittiā* > Ur. *mittī*

/mittī/ 'earth' (KM-541)

/matti/ 'earth' (DSH-279)

(b) OIA *nṛtya* > MIA *nacca* > Ur. *nāc*, *nāc̃*

/nāc/ 'dance' (KS-53)

/nāc̃/ 'dance' (QMD-8)

9. Nasalization of Vowels

Nasalization of vowels, according to G.V. Tagare is a late MIA characteristic which has come down to the MIA languages.²¹ There are instances of nasalization of vowels in Urdu through class nasals and anusvara occurring with consonants in OIA. The cases of spontaneous nasalization are also found in Urdu.

(A) Nasalization of vowels through class nasals: Class nasals before stops and aspirates become a nasalization of preceding vowel in Urdu, e.g.

(I) Class nasals with voiceless stops and aspirates:

(a) OIA *danta* > Ur. *dāt̃*

/dāt̃/ 'teeth' (DF-239)

(b) OIA *pañca* > Ur. *pāc̃*

/pāc̃/ 'five' (DQM-140)

(c) OIA √ *kamp* > Ur. *kāp̃*

/kāp̃/ '(to) tremble' (KK-262)

2. Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa, p.64.

- (d) OIA *granthi* > Ur. *gāṭh*
 /gāṭh/ 'knot' (KS-210)
- (e) OIA *kantaka* > Ur. *kāṭa*
 /kāṭa/ 'thorn' (KS-72)

(II) Class nasals with voiced stops and aspirates:

- (a) OIA *candra* > Ur. *cād*
 /cād/ 'moon' (DF-210)
- (b) OIA *bindu* > Ur. *būd*
 /būd/ 'drop' (AK-114)
- (c) OIA *skandha* > Ur. *kādhā*
 /kādhā/ 'shoulder' (KS-53)
- (d) OIA *saṃdhayā* > Ur. *sājh*
 /sājh/ 'evening' (DF-195)
- (e) OIA *aṅgikā* > Ur. *āgiyā*
 /āgiyā/ 'under garment' (KS-158)

(B) Anusvara with sibilants:

- (a) OIA *vaṃśa* > Ur. *bās*
 /bās/ 'bamboo' (KS-189)

(C) Spontaneous nasalization: There are words in Urdu which show nasalization where there is no nasal in the corresponding OIA form. This feature is called 'spontaneous nasalization'. According to Grierson most NIA words with nasalized vowels can be referred to MIA forms actual or hypothetical.³ Examples are :

³. Ibid., 69.

- (a) OIA śvāsa > Ur. sās
/sās/ 'breath' (SB-45)
- (b) OIA sarpa > Ur. sāp
/sāp/ 'snake' (MD-204)
- (c) OIA akṣi > Ur. ākh
/ākh/ 'eye' (KS-52)
- (d) OIA iṣṭa > Ur. īt
/īt/ 'brick' (KS-115)
- (e) OIA satya > Ur. sāt
/sāt/ 'truth' (BK-44)
- (f) OIA aśru > Ur. āsū
/āsū/ 'tear' (SB-84)
- (g) OIA uṣṭra > Ur. ūt
/ūt/ 'camel' (KS-116)
- (h) OIA nidra > Ur. nīd
/nīd/ 'sleep' (KK-282)

(D) Nasalization through intervocalic -m- and -n- :

- (a) OIA kamala > Ur. kāval
/kāval/ 'lotus' (Pre., DA-40)
- (b) OIA kumāra > Ur. kūwārā
/kūwārā/ 'an unmarried boy' (DSN-315)
- (c) OIA śyāmaṭa > Ur. sāvīā, sāvṛā
/sāvṛā/ 'blackish' (BK-40)

3.2 Consonantal Changes

1. Aspiration

The Urdu phonology has prominent sets of aspirates inherited from OIA through MIA. The addition of aspiration to the counterparts of these aspirates is an important phenomenon in the Urdu phonology. This tendency comes from MIA ^{and} accelerates in MIA languages. Aspiration is also found in Desi and Perso-Arabic words. Following are the examples of aspiration in Urdu -

- (a) OIA *kṛidā* > MIA *khedā* > Ur. *khel*
/khel/ 'play' (AK-162)
- (b) OIA *vesa* > MIA *vesa* > Ur. *bhes*
/bhes/ 'guise, dress' (AK-46)
- (c) OIA *dr̥ṣṭi* > MIA *diṭṭhi* > Ur. *dīth*
/dīth/ 'sight' (KB-80)
- (d) OI *pūṣpa* > MIA *pupp̐ha* > Ur. *phūl*
/phūl/ 'flower' (PSN-180)
- (e) Des. *ḍāṅk* > Ur. *ḍāṅkh*
/ḍāṅkh/ 'sting' (KB-70)
- (f) Ar. *sakīnah* > Ur. *sakhīnā*
/sakhīnā/ 'a proper noun' (AN-184)

Aspiration through metathesis is also found in Urdu. This type of aspiration results from the transposition of /h/ to some other sounds, e.g.

- (a) OIA bahu > MIA bahu > Ur. bhābāh
/bhaiyā/ 'arms' (BK-42)
- (b) OIA prabhuta > MIA bahutta > Ur. bhaut(bahut)
/bhaut/ 'many' (BK-49)
- (c) OIA mukha > MIA muha > Ur. mūh(mūh)
/mūh/ 'face' (AN-162)
- (d) Per. andoh > Ur. andho(andoh)
/andho/ 'grief' (D M-131)
- (e) OIA path > MIA padh > Ur. phar(parh)
/phar/ 'read(imp.)' (D M-159)

2. Deaspiration

Deaspiration or absence of aspiration can also be noted in Urdu pronunciation. It is also one of the features which came to MIA languages from IA. According to Dr. S.K. Chatterji all MIA obtained deaspirated forms from MIA.⁴ C.V. Tagore holds the view that the process of deaspiration was accelerated in the post Apabhramśa period⁵. Examples in Urdu are -

- (a) OIA lakṣa > MIA lakkha > Ur. lak(lākh)
/lak/ 'lac' (B-46)
- (b) OIA dugdha > MIA duddha > Ur. dūd(dūdh)
/dūd/ 'milk' (AN-138)

4: Origin and Development of Bengali Language, p.444.
5: Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa, p.76

- (c) OIA hasta > MIA hatth > Ur. hāt(hāth)
/hāt/ 'hand' (AH-162)
- (d) OIA oṣṭha > MIA oṭṭha > Ur. hōt
/hōt/ 'lip' (DF-240)

3. Voicing

Voicing of unvoiced consonants is also an important phonological change in Urdu. Examples are:

1. OIA -k- > Ur. g

- (a) OIA śakuna > Ur. śagun
/śagun/ 'omens' (BK-34)
- (b) OIA kākā > Ur. kāg
/kāg/ 'crow' (BK-41)
- (c) OIA śaka > Ur. sāg
/sāg/ 'vegetable' (KB-96)
- (d) OIA prakata > Ur. pargat
/pargat/ 'apparent' (AH-34)
- (e) OIA kaṅkana > Ur. kaṅgan
/kaṅgan/ 'bracelet' (DF-245)

4. Interchange of Consonants

Shifting of articulation from one point to another and interchange of consonants frequently take place in Urdu phonology. The important interchanges in Urdu are given below:-

OIA > Urdu:

1. OIA n > Ur. n

- (a) OIA rana > Ur. ran
/ran/ 'battle' (AN-108)
- (b) OIA darpana > Ur. darpan
/darpan/ 'mirror' (DF-239)

2. OIA ś > Ur. s

- (a) OIA pradośa > Ur. pardes
/pardes/ 'foreign land' (BK-37)
- (b) OIA vināśati > Ur. bīs
/bīs/ 'twenty' (MD-28)
- (c) OIA śīrsa > Ur. sīs
/sīs/ 'head' (BK-49)
- (d) OIA śobhā > Ur. sobhā
/sobhā/ 'beauty' (MD-43)

3. OIA ṣ > Ur. s

- (a) OIA doṣa > Ur. dos
/dos/ 'blame' (BK-49)

4. OIA v > Ur. b

- (a) OIA viraha > Ur. bīrah
/bīrah/ 'separation' (BK-37)
- (b) OIA vacana > Ur. bacan
/bacan/ 'word' (BK-41)
- (c) OIA varṣa > Ur. bars, baras
/bars/ 'year' (BK-51)
/baras/ 'year' (SB-24)

- (d) OIA vivāh > Ur. byāh
/byāh/ 'marriage' (MD-73)
- (e) OIA vistār > Ur. bistār
/bistār/ 'expansion' (MD-43)
- (f) OIA vārid > Ur. bādar, bādāl
/bādar/ 'cloud' (BK-38)
/bādāl/ 'cloud' (DF-199)
- (g) OIA vis > Ur. bis
/bis/ 'poison' (BK-43)

5. OIA y > Ur. j

- (a) OIA yatna > Ur. jatan
/jatan/ 'care' (BK-32)
- (b) OIA yoginī > Ur. jogan
/jogan/ 'a female ascetic' (BK-46)
- (c) OIA kārya > Ur. kāj
/kāj/ 'task' (DKN-147)

6. OIA l > Ur. r

- (a) OIA holikā > Ur. horī
/horī/ 'a festival' (BK-57)
- (b) OIA byāmala > Ur. sāvarā
/sāvarā/ 'of blue black colour' (BK-40)

Perso-Arabic > Urdu:

7. Ar. b > Ur. v

- (a) Ar. jābir > Ur. jāvir
/jābir/ 'despotic' (AN-210)

Note: The interchange between /b/ and /v/ in Perso-Ar. words is sporadic.

8. Per. ḡ > Ur. ḡ

- (a) Per. kāḡaz > Ur. kāḡad
/kāḡad/ 'paper' (BK-45)
- (b) Per. dāḡ > Ur. dāḡ
/dāḡ/ 'stain' (BK-58)
- (c) Per. daḡā > Ur. daḡā
/daḡā/ 'deception' (BK-59)
- (d) Per. baḡal > Ur. baḡal
/baḡāl/ 'sleeve' (AN-42)

Note: The interchange between /ḡ/ and /g/ in Perso-Arabic words is sporadic and found mostly Bikat Mahani.

9. Ar. q > Ur. x

- (a) Ar. maṣāq > Ur. maṣāx
/maṣāx/ 'humour' (LMD-29)

Note: The interchange between /q/ and /x/ in Perso-Arabic words is sporadic in the Urdu of North India. It features only in ḡasṡ-e-ḡahraḡroz-e-Dilbar.

10. Ar. h > Ur. h

- (a) Ar. himāqat > Ur. himāqat
 /himāqat/ 'stupidity' (DD-184)
- (b) Ar. nawāh > Ur. navāh
 /navāh/ 'vicinity' (KS-278)
- (c) Ar. muhabbat > Ur. mohabbat
 /mohabbat/ 'love, affection' (AN-139)
- (d) Ar. hājat > Ur. hājat
 /hājat/ 'need' (DF-205)

11. Ar. t > Ur. t

- (a) Ar. galat > Ur. galat
 /galat/ 'wrong' (DA-94)
- (b) Ar. tāqat > Ur. taqat
 /tāqat/ 'energy' (BK-61)
- (c) Ar. tabīb > Ur. tabīb
 /tabīb/ 'physician' (KS-138)

12. Ar. s and ṣ > Ur. s

- (a) Ar. sabr > Ur. sabr
 /sabr/ 'patience' (KM-190)
- (b) Ar. sabā > Ur. sabā
 /sabā/ 'morning breeze' (KM-201)
- (c) Ar. subh > Ur. subh
 /subh/ 'morning' (DA-87)
- (d) Ar. wasl > Ur. vasl
 /vasl/ 'union' (DF-223)

- (e) Ar. sabt > Ur. sabāt
/sabāt/ 'stability' (AN-174)
- (f) Ar. taqāir > Ur. taqsīr
/taqsīr/ 'fault' (AN-205)

13. Per-Ar. z, z, z and z > Ur. z

- (a) Per. humūz > Ur. humūs
/humūs/ 'yet' (KL-401)
- (b) Ar. zāhir > Ur. zāhir
/zāhir/ 'apparent' (KL-511)
- (c) Ar. mizāj > Ur. mizāj
/mizāj/ 'temperament' (KL-516)
- (d) Ar. zahr > Ur. zahr
/zahr/ 'poison' (KL J-338)
- (e) Per. nāzuk > Ur. nāzuk
/nāzuk/ 'delicate' (DA-12)
- (f) Ar. vāiz > Ur. vāiz
/vāiz/ 'preacher' (DA-170)
- (g) Ar. zarrah > Ur. zarrā
/zarrā/ 'minute particle' (KS-193)
- (h) Ar. zāif > Ur. zāif
/zāif/ 'old' (KS-122)
- (i) Ar. nabz > Ur. nabz
/nabz/ 'pulse' (KS-139)
- (j) Ar. zikr > Ur. zikr
/zikr/ 'mention' (DCN-196)

5. Changes of CIA Consonant Clusters.

CIA consonant clusters are simplified in Urdu. When they came to CIA, they were generally changed into double consonants and in Old and Middle Urdu they were either doubled or become single consonants. Following are the most common CIA clusters which underwent the process of change in Urdu.

Stop + stop = stop:

1. CIA -pt > Ur. -t

(a) CIA sapta > Ur. sāt

/sāt/ 'seven' (KK-206)

2. CIA -dhdh > Ur. -dh

(a) CIA dugdha > Ur. dūdh

/dūdh/ 'milk' (KK-192)

Stop + nasal = nasal:

3. CIA -tn- > Ur. -n

(a) CIA yatna > Ur. jatan

/jatan/ 'care' (BK-32)

Stop + sibilant = stop:

4. CIA -ks- > Ur. -kh-

(a) CIA ksetra > Ur. khet

/khet/ 'field' (KB-57)

(b) CIA bhikṣā > Ur. bhīkh

/bhīkh/ 'alms' (L-139)

- (c) OIA aksai > Ur. ākh
/ākh/ 'eye' (KK-52)

5. OIA ks- > Ur. ch-

- (a) OIA ksana > Ur. chan, chin
/chan/ 'moment' (DF-245)
/chin/ 'moment' (BK-55)
(b) OIA paksī > Ur. panchī
/panchī/ 'bird' (BK-58)

Stop + semi-vowel = stop:

6. OIA dv- > Ur. d-

- (a) OIA dvau > Ur. do
/do/ 'two' (SB-34)
(b) OIA dvīpa > Ur. diyā
/diyā/ 'candle' (BK-58)

7. OIA dv- > Ur. b-

- (a) OIA dvādaśa > Ur. bāraḥ
/bārah/ 'twelve' (KS-213)

8. OIA -ty- > Ur. -c

- (a) OIA satya > Ur. sac, sâc
/sâc/ 'true' (BK-44)
(b) OIA nr̥tya > Ur. nâc
/nâc/ 'dance' (SB-35)

9. OIA -dy- > Ur. -j

- (a) OIA adya > Ur. āj
/āj/ 'today' (DF-202)

Stop + Trill = stop:

10. OIA -dr- > Ur. -d

(a) OIA nidrā > Ur. nīd
/nīd/ 'sleep' (KS-213)

(b) OIA candra > Ur. cād
/cād/ 'moon' (Dr-201)

11. -t- > Ur. -t, -tt-

(a) OIA kṣetra > Ur. khet
/khet/ 'field' (KS-57)

(b) OIA mitra > Ur. mīt
/mīt/ 'friend' (BK-57)

(c) OIA patra > Ur. pattā
/patte / 'leaves' (SB-41)

12. OIA kr- > Ur. kh-

(a) OIA kridā > Ur. khel (KS-162)
/khel/ 'play' (KS-162)

13. OIA -kr- > Ur. -kk-, -k

(a) OIA cakra > Ur. cakkā, cāk
/cakkī/ 'wheel' (DSE-327)
/cāk/ 'wheel' (GLD-67)

14. OIA -gr- > Ur. -ag-

(a) OIA agra > Ur. āge
/āge/ 'further', before' (DF-233)

15. OIA ~~pr-~~ > Ur. ~~p-~~

(a) OIA prema > Ur. pen

/pen/ 'love' (BK-58)

16. OIA ~~-dhr-~~ > Ur. ~~-dh-~~

(a) OIA āndhra > Ur. andhā

/andhā/ 'belind' (SB-71)

Nasal + stop = stop:

17. OIA ~~-ñc-~~ > Ur. ~~-c-~~

(a) OIA pañca > Ur. pāc

/pāc/ 'five' (KK-227)

18. OIA ~~-nt-~~ > Ur. ~~-t-~~

(a) OIA kaṇṭaka > Ur. kātā

/kātā/ 'thorn' (KS-72)

Trill + nasal = nasal:

19. OIA ~~-rn-~~ > Ur. ~~-n-~~

(a) OIA parna > Ur. pān

/pān/ 'betel-leaf' (DF-240)

(b) OIA karna > Ur. kān

/kān/ 'ear' (DF-242)

20. OIA ~~-rm-~~ > Ur. ~~-m-~~

(a) OIA karma > Ur. kām

/kām/ 'work' (DF-247)

Trill + semi-vowel = stop:

21. OIA -r- > Ur. -b-

(a) OIA sarva > Ur. sab

/sab/ 'all' (DA-12)

22. OIA -ry- > Ur. -j

(a) OIA kārya > Ur. kāj

/kāj/ 'task' (DRI-147)

Trill + stop = stop:

23. OIA -rp- > Ur. -p

(a) OIA sarpa > Ur. sãp

/sãp/ 'snake' (OIA-204)

Sibilant + stop = stop:

24. OIA -st- > Ur. -th

(a) OIA hasta > Ur. hãth

/hãth/ 'hand' (SB-41)

Sibilant + trill = sibilant:

25. OIA śr- > Ur. s

(a) OIA śrāvana > Ur. sāvan

/sāvan/ 'a month' (BK-38)

(b) OIA śru > Ur. āsū

/āsū/ 'tear' (K.-276)

Sibilant + stop = stop:

26. OIA -sk- > Ur. -kh-

(a) OIA śuska > Ur. sūkhā

/sūkhā/ 'dry' (BK-36)

27. OIA -sth > Ur. -th

(a) OIA prstha > Ur. pith

/pith/ 'back' (RS-181)

(b) OIA osta > Ur. hoth

/hoth/ 'lip' (KA-112)

Sibilant + semi-vowel = sibilant:

28. OIA sv- > Ur. s-

(a) OIA svasa > Ur. sas

/sas/ 'breath' (SB-45)

29. OIA sy- > Ur. -s

(a) OIA syamala > Ur. savra

/savra/ 'of blue black colour' (BK-40)

6. Treatment of Arabic ʔ and ʕ

The glottal stop ʔ and the pharyngeal fricative ʕ are the two distinctive phonemes in Arabic, but they are generally dropped in Urdu in all positions, though their orthographic shapes are still retained in the writing system of Urdu.

(a) Ar. jibraʔīl > Ur. jibraīl

/jibraīl/ . 'Gabriel' (DJ-127)

(b) Ar. šuʕarāʔ > Ur. šoarā

/šoarā/ 'poets' (KS-37)

(c) Ar. māʔ > Ur. mā

/mā/ 'water' (KS-140)

- (d) Ar. ʿadū > Ur. adū
/adū/ 'enemy' (AN-63)
- (e) Ar. zaʿsūl > Ur. māsūm
/masūl/ 'innocent' (AN-67)
- (f) Ar. ʿāsī > Ur. āsī
/āsī/ 'sinner' (AN-101)
- (g) Ar. ʿaql > Ur. aql
/aql/ 'wisdom' (KS-163)
- (h) Ar. sāʾat > Ur. sāt
/sāt/ 'moment' (KH-393)

— when occurs as the second member of the final consonant cluster, is changed into the vowel a, e.g.

- (a) Ar. jamʿ > Ur. jama
/jama/ 'collection' (KS-137)
- (b) Ar. saʿī > Ur. sama
/sama/ 'candle' (KS-137)

7. Treatment of the Perso-Arabic final -h

The Perso-Arabic -h in the final position of a word is generally dropped, resulting in the lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g. sīnah > sīnā 'chest' (DF-220).

- (a) Per. divanah > Ur. divanā
 /divanā/ 'frantic' (KM-419)
- (b) Ar. undah > Ur. undā
 /undā/ 'chief, main' (KM-444)
- (c) Ar. āšūrah > Ur. āsū.ā
 /āšūrā/ 'tenth day of Muharram' (KS-142)
- (d) Ar. ḥallah > Ur. ḥallā
 /ḥallē/ 'attack' (AN-131)
- (e) Per. barahnah > Ur. barahnā
 /barahnā/ 'nude' (AN-170)

CHAPTER 9

FREE OR NONDISTINCTIVE VARIANTS

9.1 General Statement

In Old and Middle Urdu period, when the language was in the developing stage, the two or more pronunciations of the same word were very common. During this period we find a number of words which were pronounced in different ways. Sometimes the difference was due to historical reasons. Sometimes one pronunciation was selected over other under the influence of a particular dialect and sometimes the causes were mere prosodic; because the poets had tendency to change the pronunciation of certain words for the sake of metre and rhyme. Sometimes no reasons could be assigned why one pronunciation was chosen at the expense of the other.

Since one form is used for the other, the free or nondistinctive variants do not result in any differences in meaning. Of the two or more forms, one is supposed to be the original or the oldest and the other to have developed or derived from it. In Old and Middle Urdu period people had picked up the variants like bars / baras 'year', nā / nā 'sleep', bādar / bādal 'cloud', hōth / hōt 'lip', sē / so 'from', māṭī / mittī 'soil' etc. As the time passed the forms baras, nā, bādal, hōt, sē, mittī were adopted at the expense of the others. In later periods

the newly accepted variants became the normal or standard forms of Urdu and the other forms disappeared completely. The variants are found almost in every text of the Old and early Middle Urdu period. Sometimes the two forms of the same word appear even on the same page. It shows the trends of speech during the period on one hand and reflects the inconsistency in pronunciation on the other. This tendency is not very common in late Middle Urdu period because of the growing consistency in the pronunciation and standardization of the language. Of the two or more variants of Old and early Middle Urdu period, one was established and standardized by the end of the 18th century. We find only a handful of variants during this period.

9.2 Variants in Old Urdu

1. Vowel

1. + Lengthening / - lengthening:

(a) $\tilde{a}c\bar{u}$ 'tar' (AN-46)

$\tilde{a}c\bar{u}$ 'tear' (AN-46)

(b) bhītar 'in, inside' (D 1-138)

bhitār 'in, inside' (D 1-106)

bhitār 'in, inside' (AN-52)

(c) ānār 'pomegranate' (D 1-158)

anār 'pomegranate' (AN-42)

(d) āsmān 'sky' (AN-146)

asmān 'sky' (AN-173)

Note: The forms like āsū, bhītar, anār and āslān were retained in Middle Urdu (MU) and the others disappeared.

2. + Nasalization / - nasalization:

(a) mās 'month' (BK-47)

mās 'month' (BK-62)

(b) sē 'from, with' (DUL-111)

se 'from, with' (DUL-113)

(c) kūc 'decampment' (AN-52)

kūc 'decampment' (DUL-116)

(d) mā 'mother' (AN-109)

mā 'mother' (AN-109)

(e) dunyā 'world' (AN-133)

dunyā 'world' (Q8, LR)

(f) nisā 'woman' (AN-53)

nisā 'woman' (AN-53)

(g) tū 'thou' (DUL-124)

tū 'thou' (DUL-125)

Note: The nasalized forms se, tu, kuc etc. continued to exist in early Middle Urdu (eMU) and completely disappeared in late Middle Urdu (lMU). Similarly nīd, mā, muh etc. were adopted in LU at the expense of nīd, mā and muh.

-ql	/aql/	'intelligence' (AN-37)
-kl	/sakl/	'shape' (DF-246)
-kr	/fikr/	'thought' (DF-219)
-jr	/hjr/	'separation' (DF-219)
-br	/sabr/	'patience' (KK-159)
-bh	/subh/	'morning' (DSN-223)
-bz	/sabz/	'green' (AN-45)
-cs	/naqš/	'mark' (DF-212)
-tf	/lutf/	'enjoyment' (DF-202)

(2) Nasal +	stop	= nd, ng, nj
	nasal	= mn
	trill	= mr
	fricative	= ns

Examples :

-nd	/kamand/	(DF-237)
-ng	/firang/	'Christain' (AN-175)
-nj	/ganj/	'wealth' (D.M-149)
-mr	/umr/	'life' (EKA)
-ns	/jins/	'goods' (DF-235)

(3) Trill +	stop	= rd, rk, rq, rg, rt.
	nasal	= rn
	fricative	= rs, rf, rx, rš, rz
	semi-vowel	= rv

Examples

-rd	/ɛard/	'man' (AN-82)
-rt	/ʃart/	'condition' (MKA)
-rk	/tark/	'to leave' (AN-108)
-rq	/garq/	'drowned' (DF-225)
-rf	/tarf/	'side' (AN-38)
-rš	/ars/	(AN-35)
-rx	/surx/	'red' (AN-46)
-rs	/dars/	'look, view' (DF-218)
-rg	/murg/	'bird' (DF-197)
-rz	/ars/	'request' (AN-102)
-rv	/sarv/	'cypress' (DF-220)

(4) Lateral +	stop	= lk, lq, ld
	nasal	= lm
	fricative	= lf

Examples

-lk	/mulk/	'country' (QMD-93)
-lq	/xalq/	'people' (DF-234)
-lm	/ilm/	'knowledge' (DF-227)
-lf	/sulf/	'lock of hair' (DSN-262)

(5) Fricative +	stop	= šk, st, šq, xt, ht, sd, st
	nasal	= sm, hš, sm, xm, šm, zm,
	trill	= hr, šr, xr
	lateral	= sl, zl, xl
	fricative	= sf,
	semi-vowel	= hv, zv.

Examples --

-šk	/rašk/	'jealousy' (DF-220)
-st	/dašt/	'forest' (DSN-246)
-šq	/iškq/	'love' (DF-208)
-xt	/saxt/	'hard' (DF-210)
-ht	/qaht/	'famine' (KK-179)
-sd	/qasd/	'intention' (KK-175)
-st	/dašt/	'hand' (AN-112)
-šm	/cašm/	'eye' (DF-229)
-hm	/rahm/	'mercy' (MKA)
-an	/huan/	'beauty' (DF-221)
-xm	/saxm/	'wound' (DF-209)
-sm	/rasm/	'custom' (KK-152)
-zm	/basm/	'society' (DF-209)
-hr	/sahr/	'poison' (KK-93)
-šr	/hašr/	'dooms day' (MKA)
-xr	/faxr/	'pride' (DF-211)
-sl	/vasl/	'union' (DF-223)
-zl	/fasl/	'grace' (DF-224)
-sf	/vasf/	'praise' (DF-230)
-hv	/mahv/	'fascinated' (DF-202)
-zv	/azv/	'limb' (DA-93)

3. Medial clusters :

Most of the consonant clusters which occur finally, also occur in intervocalic position. In this position any

two consonants can occur together. The medial clusters generally result from the sequence of a syllable closing consonant and a syllable opening consonant. A few examples of such sequences are:

-mr	/qumrī/	'turtle dove' (MR-8)
-lf	/sulfā/	'locks of hair' (DF-196)
-hb	/mahbub/	'beloved' (DF-209)
-rb	/qurban/	'sacrifice' (DA-78)
-sv	/rusvā/	'disgrace' (DSN-191)
-xs	/ruxsār/	'cheek' (DSN-244)
-āk	/lāḳar/	'army' (KK-204)
-zr	/guzrī/	'passed' (KK-72)
-hf	/toḥfā/	'present' (KK-81)
-hb	/ḡigabbā/	'guard' (BK-54)
-nch	/panchī/	'bird' (BK-58)

6.12 Consonant Geminates

1. All unaspirated consonants occur geminated except /n ẓ x g/. Geminates mostly occur intervocally and after short vowels. The examples follow:

-pp	/kappar/	'cloth' (AN-44)
-bb	/mohabbat/	'affection' (MKA)
-tt	/pattā/	'leaf' (AN-70)
-dd	/muddat/	'length of time' (DF-225)
-tt	/mittī/	'soil' (AN-123)
-dd	/haddī/	'bone' (KJZ)

-cc	/saccā/	'true' (AN-52)
-jj	/taajjub/	'surprise' (KK-264)
-kk	/mukkī/	'blow with the fist' (DF-235)
-gg	/jaggaḥ/	'place' (AN-60)
-qq	/naqqāre/	'kettle-drums' (KK-254)
-mm	/amma ^h /	'mother' (KK-195)
-nn	/jahannam/	'hell' (AN-89)
-ll	/jallādī/	'cruel' (KK-152)
-rr	/makarran/	'respected' (DF-224)
-ff	/iffat/	'chastity' (KK-185)
-ss	/gussā/	'anger' (DF-203)
-zz	/lazzat/	'taste' (DF-218)
-ss	/uṣṣāq/	'lovers' (DF-196)
-hh	/motahhar/	'holy' (KK-229)

2. Geminated consonants usually occur intervocally.

But in Old Urdu there are instances of geminates occurring finally too, e.g.

-dd	/hadd/	'limit' (BK-66)
-tt	/katt/	'hand writing' (AN-68)
-ll	/kull/	'all' (AN-77)
-rr	/carr/	'ride' (AN-98)
-nn	/jinn/	'Jinn' (AN-142)
-dd	/zidd/	'persistence' (AN-142)

3. Doubling of aspirated consonants is not possible in Urdu. The doubled form occurs with an unaspirated stop and the homorganic aspirate. Examples are:

-kkh-	/likkhā/	'wrote' (AN-33)
-cch-	/acchā/	'good' (AN-63)
-tth-	/thatthā/	'joke, trifle' (AN-179)

6.13 Syllabic Structure

Syllables in Urdu consist of the following structures:

1. A vowel (V), e.g.

/ā/	'come (imp.)' (DF-196)
/e/	'O!' (vocative) (DD-114)

2. A vowel plus a consonant (VC), e.g.

/āj/	'today' (BA-102)
/ag/	'fire' (AN-94)
/us/	'that' (AN-109)
/āl/	'descendants' (KK-8)
/ab/	'now' (DQM-107)
/āb/	'water' (DQM-109)
/ek/	'one' (DF-239)
/or/	'direction, quarter' (BK-37)
/ās/	'hope' (BK-46)
/is/	'this' (BK-61)

3. A consonant plus a vowel (CV), e.g.

/ju/	'stream' (KS-69)
/do/	'two' (KK-79)
/jā/	'go (imp.)' (KK-79)

/bū/	'smell'	(DSN-198)
/mē/	'in'	(DSN-200)
/tū/	'thou'	(DSN-209)
/sā/	'like'	(KM-193)
/mū/	'hair'	(KM-257)
/se/	'from'	(KM-283)
/bhī/	'also'	(QMD-24)
/kā/	'of'	(KK-1)

4. A consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant (CVC), e.g.

/jag/	'world'	(KK-25)
/tum/	'you'	(QMD-25)
/nām/	'name'	(QMD-25)
/phir/	'then'	(QMD-45)
/rāt/	'night'	(KS-126)
/gul/	'flower'	(KS-137)
/sar/	'head'	(KM-286)
/bāg/	'garden'	(KM-311)
/des/	'country'	(BK-46)
/hāth/	'hand'	(DF-230)
/dil/	'heart'	(DF-232)
/gāl/	'cheek'	(DF-239)
/yār/	'friend'	(DA-216)
/dīn/	'day'	(DD-157)

Note: The structure CVC contains by far the largest number of monosyllabic words in Urdu and is the back bone

of the language. It never begins with / r̥ , rh / and does not end in /ph, ʃ, dh, d/. If /d/ occurs finally it is preceded by the nasalized vowel as in /rād̃/ 'widow' (KK-240) or nasal as in /dand̃/ 'gymnastic exercise' (DSN-62).

5. A vowel plus two consonants (VCC): This structure is possible only in the Perso-Arabic and pure tatsama words.

Generally Old Urdu has maintained the VCC or CVCC structure of the Perso-Arabic words, but in certain cases this structure is broken up by infixing a vowel between the two consonants. In Āshūr Nāma we find a large number of Perso-Arabic words whose consonant sequences are broken up. In Middle Urdu especially in LNU the breaking of consonant clusters in Perso-Arabic words was stopped. The works of Mir, Sauda, Dard Mir Hasan etc. are free from this tendency. The examples of VCC (CVCC) structure follow:

-jr	/hijr/	'separation' (BK-42)
-sl	/vasl/	'union' (BK-48)
-šq	/išk/	'love' (BK-59)
-ld	/jald/	'quickly' (AN-115)
-hd	/ahd/	'period' (MR-S)
-km	/hukm/	'order' (DQM-104)
-qt	/vaqt/	'time' (DQM-126)
-šk	/ašk/	'tear' (KS-223)
-rg	/barg/	'leaf' (KS-228)

-zm	/azm/	'intention' (DD-194)
-af	/vasf/	'attributes' (DD-213)
-th	/fath/	'victory' (KJZ)
-rd	/dard/	'pain' (DF-201)
-tl	/qatl/	'murder' (DF-205)
-hr	/mehr/	'love' (DF-219)
-br	/abr/	'cloud' (DF-231)
-al	/fasl/	'season' (KM-603)

Following are some of the Perso-Arabic VCC words whose consonant sequences are broken up in the Old and early Middle Urdu texts.

/hašr/ , /hašar/	'resurrection day' (AN-34)
/nazm/ , /nazam/	'verse' (AN-36)
/tifl/ , /tifa/	'child' (AN-43)
/fikr/ , /fika/	'thought' (AN-50)
/sabz/ , /saba/	'green' (AN-69)
/amr/ , /ama/	'order' (AN-100)
/mard/ , /ma/	'man' (DQM-118)
/qabr/ , /qaba/	'grave' (DQM-121)
/marg/ , /ma/	'death' (DQM-122)
/ajr/ , /aja/	'reward' (DQM-127)
/zulf/ , /zula/	'cruelty' (BK-49)

The VCC structure of Sanskrit words is invariably broken up in Urdu but Old and early Middle Urdu records a few words in which this structure has been maintained, e.g.

- nt /ant/ 'end' (DCM-150)
- nth /kenth/ 'throat' (KK-188)
- dr /samudr/ 'sea' (QMD-72)

6. CCV or CCVC structure is possible only in the tatsama words of Sanskrit. No Perso-Arabic word in Urdu begins with the initial cluster. There is a limited number of words in the texts which show CCV structure. Such words are:

- gy- /gyān/ 'knowledge' (AN-55)
- pr- /prIt/ 'love' (DF-223)
- kr- /krānti/ 'lustre' (QMD-42)

CHAPTER 7

SOURCES OF URDU SOUNDS

7.1 General Statement

There are three main stages of the development of the Indo-Aryan language, viz., OIA, MIA and NIA. The sound system of OIA was modified to a great extent during the period of MIA. The sound system was again modified at the time of the formation of the NIA languages. The Urdu sounds can be traced back to these stages through Prakrit and Sanskrit. The Prakrit and Sanskrit forms represent the MIA and OIA forms respectively. Certain important sounds in Urdu have also developed from Persian and Arabic through the process of borrowing. Besides these sources, a few Urdu sounds can also be traced back to non-Indo-Aryan or native sources which we call Desi. Desi words are derived from aboriginal dialects and therefore, their equivalents or roots are not found in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit.

7.2 Sources of Urdu Vowels

1. The Sources of Urdu /ī/

(A) MIA and OIA

1. Ur. -ī- < MIA -i- < OIA -r-

(a) Ur. dīth < MIA dīthi < OIA dr̥ṣṭi

/dīth/ 'vision' (KB-80)

(b) Ur. tījā < MIA tījja < OIA tr̥tīya

/tījā/ 'third day of death' (KK-209)

(c) Ur. bhatījā < MIA bhattijja < OIA bhātrjā
/bhatījā/ 'nephew' (AN-79)

(d) Ur. sig < MIA singa < OIA śrnga
/sig/ 'horn' (J2)

2. Ur. -ī- < MIA -i- < OIA -i-

(a) Ur. jīb, jībh < MIA jibbha < OIA jihvā
/jīb/ 'tongue' (DF-239)

(b) Ur. mīthā < MIA mitṭha < OIA miṣṭa
/mīthā/ 'sweet' (KB-75)

(c) Ur. mīt < MIA mitta < OIA mitra
/mīt/ 'friend' (BK-57)

(d) Ur. īt < MIA itṭa < OIA iṣṭa
/īt/ 'brick' (KS-115)

3. Ur. -ī- < MIA -ī- < OIA -ī-

(a) Ur. kīrā < MIA kīda < OIA kīṭa
/kīrā/ 'worm' (KB-78)

(B) Persian and Arabic

1. Ur. -ī- < Per. -ī-

(a) Ur. rīš < Per. rīš
/rīš/ 'beard' (KS-210)

(b) Ur. pīr < Per. pīr
/pīr/ 'old' (KS-218)

(c) Ur. tīr < Per. tīr
/tīr/ 'arrow' (KS-232)

2. Ur. -ī- < Ar. -ī-

(a) Ur. fīl < Ar. fīl
/fīl/ 'elephant' (KS-215)

- (b) Ur. $\bar{d}\bar{i}n$ < Ar. $\bar{d}\bar{i}n$
 / $\bar{d}\bar{i}n$ / 'religion' (KS-35)

3. Ur. $\bar{i}-$ < Ar. $\bar{i}-$

- (a) Ur. $\bar{i}m\bar{a}n$ < Ar. $\bar{i}m\bar{a}n$
 / $\bar{i}m\bar{a}n$ / 'faith, belief' (KK-12)

2. The Sources of Urdu /1/

(A) MIA and OIA

1. Ur. $-i-$ < MIA $-i-$ < OIA $-i-$

- (a) Ur. $birah$ < MIA $viraha$ < OIA $viraha$
 / $birah$ / 'separation' (BK-31)

2. Ur. $-i-$ < MIA $\bar{i}-$ < OIA $\bar{i}-$

- (a) Ur. $diy\bar{a}$ < MIA $d\bar{i}va$ < OIA $d\bar{i}pa$
 / $diy\bar{a}$ / 'lamp' (BK-58)

3. Ur. $-i-$ < MIA $-a-$ < OIA $-a-$

- (a) Ur. $gin(n\bar{a})$ < MIA $gaṇ$ < OIA $\check{g}aṇ$
 / gin / '(to) count' (KK-229)

4. Ur. $-i-$ < MIA $-i-$ < OIA $-r-$

- (a) Ur. $hiy\bar{a}$ < MIA $hiaya$ < OIA $hrdaya$
 / $hiy\bar{a}$ / 'heart' (AN-60)

(B) Persian

1. Ur. $-i-$ < Per. $-i-$

- (a) Ur. $siy\bar{a}h$ < Per. $si\bar{a}h$
 / $siy\bar{a}h$ / 'black' (KM-360)

2. Ur. $-i-$ < Per. $-e-$

- (a) Ur. dil < Per. del

/dīl/ 'heart' (KM-313)

(b) Ur. jigar < Per. jegar

/jigar/ 'liver' (KM-359)

3. The Sources of Urdu /e/

(A) MIA and OIA

1. Ur. -e- < MIA -e- < OIA -a-

(a) Ur. tarah, terāh < MIA terasa < OIA trayodāsan

/terāh/ 'thirteen' (KK-133)

2. Ur. -e- < MIA -a- < OIA -r-

(a) Ur. dekha(nā) < MIA dakkha < OIA / dr̥s̥

/dekha/ '(to) see' (KK-206)

3. Ur. -e- < MIA -e- < OIA -e-

(a) Ur. des < MIA desa < OIA deśa

/des/ 'country' (BK-41)

(b) Ur. khet < MIA khetta < OIA ksetra

/khet/ 'field' (KS-57)

(c) Ur. ek < MIA ekka < OIA eka

/ek/ 'one' (DF-237)

(B) Persian

1. Ur. -e- < Per. -ī-

(a) Ur. betāb < Per. bītāb

/betāb/ 'impatient, restless' (DD-127)

(b) Ur. tez < Per. tīz

/tez/ 'sharp' (DF-246)

14. The Sources of Urdu /a/

(A) MIA and OIA

1. Ur. -a- < MIA -a- < OIA -a-

(a) Ur. bahan < MIA bahini < OIA bhaginī
/bahan/ 'sister' (KK-134)

(b) Ur. agan < MIA aggi < OIA agni
/agan/ 'fire' (BK-52)

2. Ur. -a- < MIA -a- < OIA -a-

(a) Ur. bakhān < MIA vakkhāna < OIA vyākhyāna
/bakhān/ 'praise, description' (DQM-147)

3. Ur. -a- < MIA -a- < OIA -r-

(a) Ur. barā < MIA badḍa < OIA vṛtaka
/barā/ 'big' (KB-67)

(B) Persian and Arabic

1. Ur. -a- < Per < Ar. -a-

(a) Ur. lab < Per. lab
/lab/ 'lip' (DF-239)

(b) Ur. sabz < Per. sabz
/sabz/ 'green' (KK-101)

(c) Ur. masjid < Ar. masjid
/masjid/ 'mosque' (KK-107)

(d) Ur. badan < Ar. badan
/badan/ 'body' (BK-38)

5. The Sources of Urdu /ā/

(A) MIA and OIA

1. Ur. -ā- < MIA -a- < OIA ā

(a) Ur. kāj < MIA kajja < OIA kāya

/kāj/ 'task' (DQM-147)

(b) Ur. pāgun < MIA phagguna < OIA phālguna

/phāgun/ 'a month' (BK-53)

2. Ur. -ā- < MIA -ā- < OIA -ā-

(a) Ur. pānī < MIA pānia < OIA pāniya

/pānī/ 'water' (KK-100)

(b) Ur. māī, mā < MIA māi < OIA mātr

/māī/ 'mother' (DQM-136)

/mā/ 'mother' (KK-75)

3. Ur. -ā- < MIA -a- < OIA -a-

(a) Ur. kām MIA < kamma < OIA karma

/kām/ 'work, task' (DF-205)

(b) Ur. bārāt < MIA varaatta < OIA varayātrā

/bārāt/ 'marriage procession' (DQM-113)

(c) Ur. pātī < MIA patta < OIA patra

/pātī/ 'letter' (DF-247)

(d) Ur. āg < MIA aggi < OIA agni

/ag/ 'fire' (KS-71)

4. Ur. -ā- < MIA -a- < OIA -r-

(a) Ur. māti < MIA mattiā < OIA mrttikā

/māti/ 'earth, clay' (KS-218)

(B) Persian and Arabic

1. Ur. -ā- < Per < Ar. ā

(a) Ur. bāg < Per. bāg

/bāg/ 'garden' (KM-640)

(b) Ur. āftāb < Per. āftāb

/āftāb/ 'sun' (KM-370)

(c) Ur. āxir < Ar. āxir

/āxir/ 'end, last' (KM-361)

6. The Sources of Urdu /ū/

(A) MIA and OIA

1. Ur. -ū- < MIA -u- < OIA -u-

(a) Ur. dūdh < MIA duddha < OIA dugdha

/dūdh/ 'milk' (KK-126)

2. Ur. -ū- < MIA -ū- < OIA -ū-

(a) Ur. sūraj < MIA sūra < OIA sūrya

/sūraj/ 'sun' (DF-201)

(b) Ur. sūkhā < MIA sukkha < OIA śuska

/sūkh/ 'dry' (KS-72)

3. Ur. -ū- < MIA -u- < OIA -r-

(a) Ur. būdhā, būrhā < MIA buddha < OIA vrddha

/būdhā/ 'old' (KK-255)

/būrhā/ 'old' (KS-206)

(b) Ur. pūch < MIA pucch < OIA √ proch

/pūch/ '(to) ask' (KS-230)

(B) Persian and Arabic

1. Ur. -ū- < Per. -ū-

(a) Ur. xūb < Per. xūb

/xūb/ 'good' (KK-363)

(b) Ur. kūca < Per. kūce

/kūca/ 'lane, street' (KS-238)

2. Ur. -ū- < Ar. -ū-

(a) Ur. maglūb < Ar. maglūb

/maglūb/ 'overcome, defeated' (KK-267)

(b) Ur. rasūl < Ar. rasūl

/rasūl/ 'The Prophet' (KK-267)

7. The Sources of Urdu /u/

(A) MIA and OIA

1. Ur. -u- < MIA -i- < OIA -i-

(a) Ur. burā < MIA virua < OIA virūpa

/bure/ 'bad' (KS-88)

2. Ur. -u- < MIA -u- < OIA -u-

(a) Ur. churī < MIA churiā < OIA ksuriḱā

/churī/ 'knife' (KB-99)

(b) Ur. mūh < MIA muha < OIA mukha

/mūh/ 'mouth' (AN-58)

(B) Persian and Arabic

1. Ur. -u- < Per. -o-

(a) Ur. pur < Per. por

/pur/ 'full' (KS-57)

(b) Ur. xušbū < Per. xōsbū

/xušbū/ 'fragrant' (QMD-123)

2. Ur. u < Ar. u

(a) Ur. dunyā < Ar. dunyā

/dunyā/ 'world' (KK-63)

8. The Sources of Urdu /o/

(A) MIA and OIA

1. Ur. -o- < MIA -o- < OIA -o-

(a) Ur. ghorā < MIA ghodaā < OIA ghotaka

/ghorā/ 'horse' (KS-125)

(b) Ur. hōṭ, hōṭh < MIA oṭṭha < OIA oṣṭha

/hōṭ/ 'lip' (KM-252)

/hōṭh/ 'lip' (KM-112)

2. Ur. -o- < MIA -u- < OIA -u-

(a) Ur. motī < MIA muttā < OIA muktā

/motī/ 'pearl' (DF-239)

3. Ur. -o- < MIA -o- < OIA u

(a) Ur. joban < MIA jovvāna < OIA yauvana

/joban/ 'bloom of youth' (DF-230)

4. Ur. -o- < MIA u- < OIA -ū-

(a) Ur. mol < MIA mulla^{OIA} < mulya

/mol/ 'fixing the price' (DPA-113)

5. Ur. -o- < MIA -o- < OIA -u-

(a) Ur. pothī < MIA potthiyā < OIA pustika

/pothī/ 'book' (BK-39)

(B) Persian

1. Ur. -o- < Per. -ūs

(a) Ur. roz < Per. rūz

/roz/ 'day' (KK-59)

(b) Ur. afsos < Per. afsūs

/afsūs/ 'regret, alas !' (DD-129)

(c) Ur. goš < Per. gūš

/goš/ 'ear' (DF-207)

(d) Ur. dozax < Per. dūzax

/dozax/ 'hell' (DF-195)

2. Ur. -o- < Per. -o-

(a) Ur. do < Per. do

/do/ 'two' (DF-239)

7.3 Sources of Urdu Consonants

1. The Sources of Urdu /p/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. p- < MIA p- < OIA p-

(a) Ur. pānī < MIA pānia < OIA pāniya

/pānī/ 'water' (KS-104)

(b) Ur. pāc < MIA pānca < OIA pānca

/pāc/ 'five' (KK-242)

(c) Ur. pañkh < MIA pañkha < OIA paksa

/pañkh/ 'wing' (BK-40)

(d) Ur. $\bar{p}at\bar{i}$, $\bar{p}at$ < MIA patta < OIA patra

/pātī/ 'leaf' (KS-103)

/pāt/ 'leaf' (KS-119)

(c) Ur. parh(nā) < MIA padha < OIA / path

/parh/ '(to) read' (DAM-164)

(d) Ur. pyās < MIA piyāsa < OIA pipāsa

/pyāsa/ 'thirsty' (S1, MR)

2. Ur. p- < MIA p- < OIA pr-

(a) Ur. patthar < MIA patthara < OIA prastara

/patthar/ 'stone' (KS-150)

(b) Ur. pem < MIA pema < OIA prema

/pem/ 'love' (BK-58)

(c) Ur. pahelī < MIA pahelia < OIA prahelika

/pahelī/ 'riddle' (NA-133)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -p- < MIA -pp- < OIA -tm-

(a) Ur. apnā < MIA appanā < OIA ātman

/apnā/ 'own' (DA-71)

2. Ur. -p- < MIA -pp- < OIA -rp-

(a) Ur. s̃ap < MIA sappa < OIA sarpa

/s̃ap/ 'snake' (KS-176)

(b) Ur. kaprā < MIA kappadaā < OIA karpataka

/kaprā/ 'cloth' (KS-131)

3. Ur. -p- < MIA -mp- < OIA -mp

(a) Ur. $\hat{k}\hat{a}p(n\bar{a})$ < MIA kamp < OIA / kamp
 / $\tilde{k}\tilde{a}p\tilde{u}$ / '(to) shiver' (BK-47)

(B) Persian

Initial:

1. Ur. p- < Per. p-

/ $\text{paig}\bar{a}n$ / 'message' (AN-66)
 / $\text{pay}\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ / 'footman' (AN-80)
 / $\text{p}\bar{i}r$ / 'spiritual guide' (DSN-111)
 / $\text{p}\bar{a}$ / 'foot' (DF-237)
 / $\text{p}\bar{a}k$ / 'holy' (AN-123)

Medial:

1. Ur. -p- < Per. -p-

/ $\text{si}p\bar{a}s$ / 'thanks' (AN-108)
 / $\text{si}p\bar{a}h$ / 'army' (KK-156)

(C) Desi

Initial:

1. Ur. p- < Des. p-

(a) Ur. pet < Des. $\text{pet}\bar{t}\bar{a}$
 / pet / 'stomach' (KS-110)

Medial:

1. Ur. -p- < Des. -p-

(a) Ur. $\text{top}\bar{i}$ < Des. $\text{top}\bar{i}\bar{a}$
 / $\text{top}\bar{i}$ / 'cap' (KS-98)

2. The Sources of Urdu /ph/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initials:

1. Ur. ph- < MIA ph- < OIA ph-

(a) Ur. phāgun < MIA phagguna < OIA phālguna
/phāgun/ 'a month' (BK-53)

(b) Ur. phūl < MIA phulla < OIA phulla
/phūl/ 'flower' (KK-676)

2. Ur. ph- < MIA ph- < OIA sph-

(a) Ur. phūt(nā) < MIA phutṭa < OIA / sphut
/phūt/ '(to) be broken' (KS-240)

3. The Sources of Urdu /b/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initials:

1. Ur. b- < MIA b- < OIA b-

(a) Ur. būd < MIA bindu < OIA bindu
/būd/ 'drop' (KK-114)

2. Ur. b- < MIA v- < OIA v

(a) Ur. bis < MIA vīsa < OIA vimśa
/bisvī/ 'twentieth' (KK-286)

(b) Ur. barā < MIA vadaga, vadaā < OIA ataka
/barā/ 'big, great' (AN-110)

(c) Ur. bandar < MIA vānara < OIA vānara
/bandar/ 'monkey' (KS-183)

3. Ur. b- < MIA b- < OIA v-

(a) Ur. bahū < MIA bahū < OIA vadhū
/bahū/ 'son's wife' (KK-164)

4. Ur. b- < MIA v- < OIA vy-

(a) Ur. bakhān < MIA vakkhāna < OIA vyākhyāna
/bakhān/ 'praise, description' (DCH-147)

5. Ur. b- < MIA b- < OIA bh-

(a) Ur. bahen < ^{N/A} / bahini < OIA bhagini
/bahen/ 'sister' (KK-134)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -b- < MIA -mb- < OIA -mr-

(a) Ur. amb < MIA amba < OIA āmra
/amb/ 'mango' (BK-60)

2. Ur. -b- < MIA -bb- < OIA -rb-

(a) Ur. dublā < MIA dubbala < OIA durbala
/dublā/ 'thin' (Nj, JS-210)

3. Ur. -b- < MIA -vv- < OIA -rv-

(a) Ur. caubīs < MIA cauvvīsam < OIA caturvīṣāti
/caubīs/ 'twenty four' (KK-50)

4. Ur. -b- < MIA -bb- < OIA -rv

(a) Ur. sab < MIA sabba < OIA sarva
/sab/ 'all' (KM-292)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. b- < Per-Ar. b-

/badan/ 'body' (Nj, JSI-209)

/bāg/ 'garden' (Nj, JSI-211)

/bād/ 'after' (Ht, JSI-239)

/but/ 'idol' (Fg, JSI-264)

/bāl/ 'wing' (Fg, JSI-269)

/barq/ 'lightning' (DA-79)

/bīnār/ 'ill' (MMJK-294)

Medial:

1. Ur. -b- < Per-Ar. -b-

/zaban/ 'tongue' (YK, JSI-215)

/musibat/ 'affliction, suffering' (Ht, JSI-235)

/xabar/ 'news' (MMJK-293)

/sabā/ 'breeze' (MMJK-302)

Final:

1. Ur. -b < Per-Ar. -b

/āb/ 'water' (Hz, JSI-207)

/kabāb/ 'roasted meat' (Yk, JSI-214)

/āftāb/ 'sun' (Ht, JSI-238)

/raqīb/ 'rival' (DA-75)

4. The Sources of Urdu /bh/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. bh- < MIA bh- < OIA -bh

(a) Ur. bhūk < MIA bhukkha < OIA bubhukṣā
/bhūk/ 'hunger' (BK-31)(b) Ur. bhīk < MIA bhikkhā, bhikkha < OIA bhikṣā
/bhīk/ 'alms' (BK-35)(c) Ur. bhādō < MIA bhaddavaā < OIA bhadrapada
/bhādō/ 'a month' (BK-40)(d) Ur. bhalā < MIA bhallaā < OIA bhadra + ka
/bhalā/ 'good' (Ht, JSI-237)

2. Ur. bh- < MIA bh- < OIA bhr-

(a) Ur. bhāī < MIA bhai < OIA bhrātra
/bhāī/ 'brother' (AN-117)(b) Ur. bhāūh < MIA bhū < OIA bhrū
/bhāūh/ 'eyebrow' (DF-244)

3. Ur. bh- < MIA bh- < OIA -bhy-

(a) Ur. bhītar < MIA bhintara < OIA abhyantara
/bhītar/ 'inside' (DOM-106)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -bh- < OIA -bh-

(a) Ur. abhūkan < OIA ābhūṣana
/abhūkan/ 'ornament' (DF-242)

5. The Sources of Urdu /t/

Initials:

1. Ur. t- < MIA t- < OIA t-

(a) Ur. $\text{tambol\bar{i}}$ < MIA *tambolia* < OIA *tambulikā*
 / $\text{tambol\bar{i}}$ / 'betel-leaves seller' (DP-235)

(b) Ur. *tel* < MIA *tella* < OIA *taila*
 /*tel*/ 'oil' (KS-214)

2. Ur. t- < MIA t- < OIA tr-

(a) Ur. *terah* < MIA *teras, terah* < OIA *trayodaśa*
 / terāh / 'thirteen' (KK-83)

(b) Ur. *tīs* < MIA *tīśā, tīśā* < OIA *trīṃśat*
 / tīs / 'thirty' (KK-285)

(c) Ur. *tor(nā)* < MIA *toḍ* < OIA / *trot*
 / torā / 'broke' (KS-88)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -t- < MIA -tt- < OIA -kt-

(a) Ur. *motī* < MIA *mottia* < OIA *mauktika*
 / motī / 'pearl' (KS-173)

2. Ur. -t < MIA -tt- < OIA tr-

(a) Ur. *khet* < MIA *khetta* < OIA *ksetra*
 /*khet*/ 'field' (KS-104)

(b) Ur. *pūt* < MIA *putta* < OIA *putra*
 / pūt / 'son' (KS-140)

(c) Ur. $\bar{r}at$ \leftarrow MIA ratta \leftarrow OIA $\bar{r}atri$
 / $\bar{r}at$ / 'night' (KS-72)

3. Ur. -t \leftarrow MIA -tt- \leftarrow OIA -pt-

(a) Ur. $\bar{s}at$ \leftarrow MIA stta \leftarrow OIA sapta
 / $\bar{s}at$ / 'seven' (KK-115)

4. Ur. -t \leftarrow MIA -tt \leftarrow OIA -rt

(a) Ur. $\bar{b}at$ \leftarrow MIA vattā, vatta \leftarrow OIA $\bar{v}artā$
 / $\bar{b}at$ / 'talk' (BK-65)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. t- \leftarrow Per-Ar. -t-

(a) /teg/ 'sword' (AN-99)
 /tark/ 'abandonment' (AN-104)
 /tar/ 'wet' (KK-167)
 /tan/ 'body' (AN-105)

2. Ur. t- \leftarrow Ar. t-

/taām/ 'food' (DSN-70)
 /tabīb/ 'physician' (KS-138)
 /talāq/ 'divorce' (KS-150)
 /tāq/ 'arch' (QMD-87)

Medial:

1. Ur. -t- \leftarrow Per-Ar. -t-

(/sitam/ 'tyranny' (AN-114)
 /šitāb/ 'hurry' (DQM-125)
 /ātaš/ 'fire' (DSN-54)
 /naštar/ 'lancet' (DF-210)

2. Ur. -t- < Ar. -t-

/lutf/ 'gratification' (DF-213)

/vatan/ 'country' (DD-126)

/qatrā/ 'drop' (KS-146)

Finals:

1. Ur. -t < Per-Ar. -t

/muddat/ 'duration' (DSN-52)

/jannat/ 'paradise' (DP-207)

/nijāt/ 'salvation' (DQM-111)

/hayāt/ 'life' (DQM-119)

2. Ur. -t < Ar. -t

/xaiyāt/ 'tailor' (KS-167)

6. The Sources of Urdu /th/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initials:

1. Ur. -th < MIA -th < OIA -sth

(a) Ur. thān < MIA thāna < OIA sthāna

/thān/ 'stall for the cattle' (KS-122)

(b) Ur. thālī < MIA thālī, thallīā < OIA sthālī,
sthālikā

/thālī/ 'plate' (DF-232)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -th- < MIA -tth- < OIA -st-

(a) Ur. hāthī < MIA hatthī < OIA hastī

/hāthī/ 'elephant' (KS-117)

(b) Ur. patthar ← MIA patthara ← OIA prastara
/patthar/ 'stone' (KS-150)

2. Ur. -th ← MIA -th- ← OIA -rth-

(a) Ur. s̄ath ← MIA sttha ← OIA sārtha
/s̄ath/ 'with' (KS-268)

3. Ur. -th ← MIA -tth- ← OIA -st-

(a) Ur. h̄ath ← MIA hattha ← OIA hasta
/h̄ath/ 'hand' (KK-170)

7. The Sources of Urdu /d/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. d- ← MIA d- ← OIA d-

(a) Ur. dāt̃ ← danta ← OIA danta
/dāt̃/ 'tooth' (DF-239)

(b) Ur. dūdh ← MIA duddha ← OIA dugdha
/dūdh/ 'milk' (KK-190)

2. Ur. d- ← MIA d- ← OIA dv-

(a) Ur. do ← MIA do ← OIA dvau
/do/ 'two' (KK-171)

Note: do 'two' is also a Persian borrowing.

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -do- ← MIA -do- ← OIA -dr-

(a) Ur. bhādõ ← MIA bhaddavaā ← OIA bhadrapada
/bhādõ/ 'a month' (BK-40)

2. Ur. -d < MIA -d- < OIA -dr-

(a) Ur. $\hat{c}\hat{a}d$ < MIA canda < OIA candra
/cād/ 'moon' (DF-201)

3. Ur. -d < MIA -dd- < OIA -dr-

(a) Ur. $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}d$ < MIA nidda < OIA nidrā
/nīd/ 'sleep' (DF-247)

4. Ur. -d- < MIA -dd- < OIA -d-

(a) Ur. bādā < MIA baddal < OIA vārid
/bādā/ 'cloud' (DF-199)
/bādar/ 'cloud' (BK-38)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initials:

1. Ur. d- < Per-Ar. d-

/dīl/ 'heart' (DQM-120)
/dunya/ 'world' (AN-59)
/dušman/ 'enemy' (Yk, JSI-214)
/dīvār/ 'wall' (Ht, JSI-242)
/dašt/ 'plain, field' (Ht, JSI-252)
/dāg/ 'stain' (Fg, JSI-265)
/dāman/ 'skirt' (DD-144)

Medials:

1. Ur. -d- < Per-Ar. -d-

/qadan/ 'foot-step' (DQM-160)
/adū/ 'enemy' (AN-63)

/adab/ 'respect' (AN-63)
 /gadā/ 'beggar' (Ab, JSI-197)
 /pardā/ 'curtain' (Ht, JSI-236)
 /sindagi/ 'life' (Ht, JSI-245)

Finals:

1. Ur. -d < Per-Ar. -d

/qad/ 'intention' (DQM-150)
 /farzand/ 'son' (AN-57)
 /bād/ 'air' (Ar, JSI-187)
 /qad/ 'height, stature' (Ab, JSI-195)
 /sard/ 'cold' (Ms, JSI-204)
 /masjid/ 'mosque' (Yk, JSI-215)

8. The Sources of Urdu /dh/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. dh- < MIA dh- < OIA dh-

(a) Ur. dhūl < MIA dhūli < OIA dhūli
 /dhūl/ 'dust' (KS-214)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -dh- < MIA -dh- < OIA -dh-

(a) Ur. ādherā < MIA andhayāra OIA andhakāra
 /ādherā/ 'darkness' (KK-86)
 (b) Ur. andhā < MIA andhaā OIA andhaka
 /andhā/ 'blind' (KS-117)

2. Ur. -dh- < MIA -ddh- < OIA -rdh-

(a) Ur. ādhā < MIA addhā < OIA ardha + ka
/ādhā/ 'half' (KK-246)

3. Ur. -dh < MIA -ddh- < OIA -gdh-

(a) Ur. dūdh < MIA duddha < OIA dugdha
/dūdh/ 'milk' (KK-190)

9. The Sources of Urdu /t/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initials:

1. Ur. t- < MIA t- < OIA -tr-

(a) Ur. tūt(nā) < MIA tutta < OIA / trut
/tūte/ '(to) be broken' (KS-223)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -ṭ- < MIA -ṭ- < OIA -ṭ-

(a) Ur. kāṭā < MIA kaṭṭā < OIA kaṭṭaka
/kāṭā/ 'thorn' (KS-72)

2. Ur. -ṭ- < MIA -ṭṭ- < OIA -ṭṭ-

(a) Ur. māṭī < MIA mittiā < OIA mṛttikā
/māṭī/ 'earth' (KS-74)

3. Ur. -ṭ- < MIA -ṭṭ- < OIA -rt-

(a) Ur. āṭā < MIA aṭṭā < OIA arta
/āṭā/ 'flour' (KS-157)

4. Ur. -ṭ < MIA -ṭṭ- < OIA -str-

(a) Ur. ūṭ < MIA utta < OIA ustra
/ūt/ 'camel' (KS-116)

5. Ur. -ṭ < MIA <tṭ < OIA -sṭ-

(a) Ur. īṭ < MIA iṭta < OIA isṭa
/īṭ/ 'brick' (KS-115)

6. Ur. -ṭ < MIA -ṭtḥ < OIA -sṭḥ-

(a) Ur. hōṭ < MIA eṭtha < OIA osṭha
/hōṭ/ 'lip' (KM-252)

7. Ur. -ṭ < MIA ṭṭ < OIA -rṭ

(a) Ur. kāṭ < MIA kaṭta < OIA karṭa
/kāṭ/ 'cut' (DSH-79)

8. Ur. -ṭ < MIA -ṭṭ < OIA -ṭṭ-

(a) Ur. hāṭ < MIA haṭta < OIA haṭta
/hāṭ/ 'market' (DA-60)

(B) Desi

Initial:

1. Ur. ṭ < Des. ṭ-

(a) Ur. top̄l̄ < Des. top̄l̄ā
/top̄l̄/ 'cap' (KS-98)

(b) Ur. t̄ikā < Des. t̄ikka
/t̄ikā/ 'an ornament' (DF-242)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -ṭ- < Des. -ṭ-

(a) Ur. kaṭorā < Des. kaṭtoraga
/kaṭorā/ 'bowl' (EK-149)

(b) Ur. kaṭār < Des. kaṭara
/kaṭār/ 'small dagger' (AN-83)

2. Ur. -ṭ < Des. -ṭ-, -ṭṭ-

(a) Ur. peṭ < Des. peṭa, peṭṭa
/peṭ/ 'belly' (KS-110)

(b) Ur. ghāṭ < Des. ghāṭṭa
/ghāṭ/ 'landing place' (DF-232)

(c) Ur. ghūṭ̣ < Des. ghūṭ̣a
/ghūṭ̣/ 'draught' (KS-90)

10. The Sources of Urdu /tḥ/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. tḥ < MIA tḥ- < OIA tḥ-

(a) Ur. tḥag < MIA tḥaga < OIA stḥaga
/tḥag/ 'cheat' (KS-130)

(b) Ur. th̄ar, th̄aur < MIA th̄ana < OIA sth̄ana
/th̄ar/ 'place' (DQM-157)
/th̄aur/ 'place' (DQM-152)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -tḥ < MIA -ṭtḥ- < OIA -sṭ-

(a) Ur. mīth̄a < MIA mīṭ̣ṭha < OIA mīsṭa
/mīth̄a/ 'sweet' (DF-210)

2. Ur. -tḥ- < MIA ṭtḥ- < OIA -sṭḥ-

(a) Ur. āgūth̄a < MIA āṅgūṭ̣ṭha < OIA āṅgusṭṭha
/āgūth̄a/ 'thumb' (NA-41)

3. Ur. -tḥ < MIA -ṭtḥ- < OIA -sṭḥ

(a) Ur. $\dot{h}\ddot{o}th$ ← MIA $ot\ddot{t}ha$ ← OIA $ost\ddot{t}ha$
 / $\dot{h}\ddot{o}th$ / 'lip' (KK-130)

(b) Ur. $\ddot{a}th$ ← MIA $at\ddot{t}ha$ ← OIA $ast\ddot{t}a$
 / $\ddot{a}th$ / 'eight' (KS-88)

4. Ur. $-th$ ← MIA $-t\ddot{t}h-$ ← OIA $-st\ddot{t}h-$

(a) Ur. $\ddot{p}ith$ ← MIA $pit\ddot{t}ha$ ← OIA $prst\ddot{t}ha$
 / $\ddot{p}ith$ / 'back' (DA-84)

5. Ur. $-th$ ← MIA $-t-$ ← OIA $-th-$

(a) Ur. $\ddot{g}ath$ ← MIA $gan\ddot{t}i$ ← OIA $gran\ddot{t}hi$
 / $\ddot{g}ath$ / 'knot' (DA-190)

11. The Sources of Urdu /d/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. $\dot{d}-$ ← MIA $\dot{d}-$ ← OIA $\dot{d}-$

(a) Ur. $\dot{d}\ddot{a}in$ ← MIA $\dot{d}\ddot{a}in\ddot{i}$ ← OIA $\dot{d}\ddot{a}kin\ddot{i}$
 / $\dot{d}\ddot{a}in$ / 'witch' (KS-124)

(b) Ur. $\dot{d}\ddot{o}l\ddot{i}$ ← MIA $\dot{d}\ddot{o}liy\ddot{a}$ ← OIA $\dot{d}\ddot{o}lik\ddot{a}$
 / $\dot{d}\ddot{o}l\ddot{i}$ / 'palanquin' (KS-119)

2. Ur. $\dot{d}-$ ← MIA $\dot{d}-$ ← OIA $\dot{d}-$

(a) Ur. $\dot{d}ar$ ← MIA $\dot{d}ara$ ← OIA $\dot{d}ara$
 / $\dot{d}ar$ / 'fear' (KS-140)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. $-d-$ ← MIA $-d$ ← OIA $-d-$

(a) Ur. $and\ddot{a}$ ← MIA $and\ddot{a}\ddot{s}$ ← OIA $and\ddot{a}ka$
 / $and\ddot{a}$ / 'egg' (KS-104)

(B) Desi

Initial:

1. Ur. d- ← Des. d-

/dank/ 'sting' (BK-31)

/derā/ 'dwelling' (KS-117)

/dor/ 'rope' (KK-132)

12. The Sources of Urdu /dh/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. dh- ← MIA dh-

(a) Ur. dhapnī ← MIA dhāṅkanī

/dhapnī/ 'cover' (KB-70)

Medial:

1. Ur. -dh ← MIA -ddh ← OIA -rddh

(a) Ur. būdhā ← MIA buddha ← OIA brddha

/buddhā/ 'old' (KK-247)

(B) Desi

Initial:

1. Ur. -dh ← Des. dh-

/dhol/ 'drum' (KS-115)

/dhab/ 'manner, style' (KS-336)

/dholā/ 'a piece of earth' (NA-255)

13. The Sources of Urdu /o/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. c- ← MIA c- ← OIA c-

(a) Ur. cād ← MIA canda ← candra
/cād/ 'moon' (KS-72)(b) Ur. cait ← MIA caitta ← OIA caltra
/cait/ 'a month' (BK-59)(c) Ur. cor ← MIA cora ← OIA caura
/cor/ 'thief' (KS-130)(d) Ur. cāk ← MIA cakka ← OIA cakra
/cāk/ 'potter's wheel' (Sd, JS II-295)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -c ← MIA -cc- ← OIA -ty-

(a) Ur. nāc ← MIA nacca ← OIA nrtya
/nāc/ 'dance' (KS-53)(b) Ur. s̄ac, sac ← MIA sacca ← OIA satya
/s̄ac/ 'true' (BK-44)
/sac/ 'true' (DQM-160)

(B) Persian

Initial:

1. Ur. c- ← Per. c-

/cādar/ 'sheet' (DQM-111)

/cīs/ 'thing' (DQM-127)

/cāh/ 'well' (DF-198)
 /caṣm/ 'eye' (DF-200)
 /caman/ 'garden' (KS-254)

Medial:

1. Ur. -c- ← Per. -c-

/guncā/ 'bud' (Mr, JS II-172)
 /pecā/ 'twisting' (Mr, JS II-174)
 /kūcā/ 'lane' (Sd, JS II-302)

Final:

1. Ur. -c ← Per. -c

/kuc/ 'decamping, setting off' (AN-75)

14. The Sources of Urdu /ch/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. ch- ← MIA ch- ← OIA ch-, -ṣ

(a) Ur. chāṓ ← MIA chāā ← OIA chāyā

/chāṓ/ 'shadow' (Sd, JS II-275)

(b) Ur. chattis ← MIA chattisam ← OIA saṭtrimsat

/chattis/ 'thirty six' (KS-108)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -ch- ← MIA -ch- ← OIA -ṣc-

(a) Ur. bīcchu ← MIA vicchua ← OIA vr̥ścika

/bīcchu/ 'scorpion' (BK-54)

2. Ur. ch- ← MIA -ch- ← OIA -ks-

(a) Ur. rīch ← MIA riccha ← OIA rkṣa
/rīch/ 'bear' (KS-97)

15. The Sources of Urdu /j/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. j- ← MIA j- ← OIA j-

(a) Ur. joban ← MIA jobbana ← OIA yauvana
/joban/ 'youthfulness' (DF-230)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -j- ← MIA -jj- ← OIA -jj-

(a) Ur. kājal ← MIA kajjala ← OIA kajjala
/kājal/ 'collyrium' (DF-200)

2. Ur. -j ← MIA -jj- ← OIA -dy-

(a) Ur. āj ← MIA ajja ← OIA adya
/āj/ 'today' (DF-231)

(b) Ur. lāj ← MIA lajja ← OIA lajjā
/lāj/ 'shame' (BK-51)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. j- ← Per+Ar. j

/jām/ 'cup' (KS-224)

/jigar/ 'liver' (KS-243)

/jānib/ 'side, direction' (DF-201)

/jahān/ 'world' (MD, JS II-362)

/judī/ 'different' (MH, JS II-436)

Medial:

1. Ur. -j- ← Per-Ar. -j-

/hijr/ 'separation' (DF-201)

/xanjar/ 'dagger' (DF-201)

/hājat/ 'need' (DF-205)

/sanjīr/ 'chain' (KM-512)

Final:

1. Ur. -j ← Per-Ar. -j

/ilāj/ 'treatment' (KS-248)

/kunj/ 'corner' (MD, JS II-362)

/misāj/ 'temperament' (KM-196)

16. The Sources of Urdu /jh/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. jh- ← MIA jh- ← OIA dhvaja

(a) Ur. jhandā ← MIA jhandā ← OIA dhvajadāṇḍaka

/jhandā/ 'flag' (BK-28)

(b) Ur. jhar, jharī ← MIA jhadī

/jhar/ 'continued rain' (DA-44)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -jh- ← MIA -jh- ← OIA -dhy-

(a) Ur. būjh(nā) ← MIA bujjha ← OIA budhya
/būjhna/ 'to understand' (DA-2)

2. Ur. jh ← MIA -jh ← OIA -dhy

(a) Ur. sājh ← MIA sañjha ← OIA sandhya
/sājh/ 'evening' (DF-195)

17. The Sources of Urdu /k/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. k- ← MIA k- ← OIA k-

(a) Ur. kangan ← MIA kankana ← OIA konkana
/kangan/ 'bracelet' (DF-245)

(b) Ur. kām ← MIA kamma ← OIA karma
/kām/ 'task' (KS-90)

(c) Ur. kār ← MIA kanna ← OIA karna
/kār/ 'ear' (KS-51)

(d) Ur. kaṅkar ← MIA kakkara ← OIA karkara
/kaṅkar/ 'pebble' (KS-69)

2. Ur. k- ← MIA kh- ← OIA sk-

(a) Ur. kādhā ← MIA khandha ← OIA skandha
/kādhā/ 'shoulder' (KS-53)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -k- ← MIA -kk- ← OIA -k-

(a) Ur. nikāl(nā) ← MIA nikkas ← OIA / nirakas
/nikāl/ '(to) take out' (KS-224)

2. Ur. -k- < MIA -kk- < OIA -k

(a) Ur. ek < MIA ekka < OIA eka

/ek/ 'one' (DF-230)

3. Ur. -k- < MIA -kk- < OIA -kr-

(a) Ur. n̄ak < MIA nakka < OIA nakra

/n̄ak/ 'nose' (KS-71)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. k- < Per-Ar. -k

/kāgas/ 'paper' (KM-106)

/kaerat/ 'abundance' (DSN-137)

/kafan/ 'shroud' (DSN-118)

/kitāb/ 'book' (DSN-134)

Medial:

1. Ur. -k- < Per-Ar. -k-

/šikāyat/ 'complaint' (KS-68)

/šakl/ 'face' (KS-138)

/muškil/ 'difficult' (KM-512)

/makā/ 'house' (SB-43)

Final:

1. Ur. -k- < Per-Ar. -k-

/tarik/ 'dark' (DF-200)

/falak/ 'sky' (DF-201)

/mulk/ 'country' (DSN-143)

/nāsuk/ 'delicate, fine' (KM-445)

18. The Sources of Urdu /kh/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. kh- < MIA -kh- < OIA ks-

(a) Ur. khet < MIA khetta < OIA kṣetra
/khet/ 'field' (KS-57)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -kh- < MIA -kkh- < OIA -khy-

(a) Ur. bakhān < MIA vakkhāna < OIA vyākhyān
/bakhān/ 'praise' (DCH-147)

2. Ur. -kh- < MIA -kkh- < OIA -sk-

(a) Ur. sūkhā < MIA sukkha < OIA śuska
/sūkhā/ 'dry' (BK-38)

3. Ur. -kh < MIA -kh- < OIA -ks-

(a) Ur. pañkh < MIA pañkha < OIA pakṣa
/pañkh/ 'wing' (BK-40)

19. The Sources of Urdu /g/

(A) MIA and OIA

1. Ur. g- < MIA g- < OIA g-

(a) Ur. gadhā < MIA gaddaha < OIA gardabha
/gadhā/ 'ass' (KS-109)

(b) Ur. gin(nā) < MIA gaṇ < OIA √ gaṇ
/ginte/ '(to) count' (KS-109)

(o) Ur. gal, gar, galā < MIA gala < OIA

/gal/ 'neck' (BK-58)

/gar/ 'neck' (BK-36)

/galā/ 'neck' (BK-58)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -g- < MIA -gg- < OIA -lg-

(a) Ur. phāgun < MIA phagguna < OIA phālguna

/phāgun/ 'a month' (BK-57)

2. Ur. -g- < MIA -gg- < OIA -gn

(a) Ur. nāgā < MIA nagga < OIA nagna

/nāgā/ 'nude' (DF-237)

3. Ur. -g < MIA -g- < OIA -k

(a) Ur. log < MIA loga < OIA loka

/log/ 'people' (DF-234)

4. Ur. -g < MIA -gg- < OIA -lg-

(a) Ur. bāg < MIA bagga < OIA valgā

/bāg/ 'bridle' (KS-123)

5. Ur. -g < MIA -gg- < OIA -gn-

(a) Ur. āg < MIA aggi < OIA agni

/āg/ 'fire' (KS-71)

(B) Persian

Initial:

1. Ur. g < Per. g-

/gul/ 'flower' (Ab, JS-195)

/gaḍā/ 'beggar' (Ab, JS-197)

/gor/ 'grave' (DSN-155)

/goḥar/ 'pearl' (Yk, JS-218)

/goṣ/ 'ear' (DA-115)

Medial:

1. Ur. -g- < Per. -g-

/niḡāh/ 'look' (Ab, JS-195)

/niḡgā/ 'eyelashes' (Rz, JS-205)

/jiḡar/ 'liver' (KS-243)

/barsiḡāl/ 'rainy season' (SB-10)

Final:

/barg/ 'leaf' (KM-551)

/marg/ 'death' (DSN-21)

20. The Sources of Urdu /gh/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. gh- < MIA gh- < OIA gh-

(a) Ur. ghorā < MIA ghodā < OIA ghotaka

/ghorā/ 'horse' (KS-122)

(b) Ur. ghī < MIA ghia < OIA ghrta

/ghī/ 'ghee' (KS-216)

(B) Desi

Initial:

1. Ur. gh- < Des. gh-

(a) Ur. ghāṭ < Des. ghāṭa
/ghāṭ/ 'draught' (KS-90)(b) Ur. ghāṭ < Des. ghāṭṭa
/ghāṭ/ 'landing place' (DF-232)

Medial and Final:

1. Ur. -gh < Des. -gh

(a) Ur. sūgh(nā) < Des. / sūgh
/sūghe/ '(to) smell' (KS-98)

21. The Sources of Urdu /q/

(A) Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. q- < Ar. q-

/qafas/ 'cage' (KS-252)

/qatl/ 'murder' (KS-259)

/qūvat/ 'power' (DA-103)

/qad/ 'stature' (DSH-94)

Medial:

1. Ur. -q- < Ar. -q-

/tāqat/ 'endurance' (BK-61)

/aql/ 'intellect' (DOM-327)
 /taqsīr/ 'shortcoming' (KM-264)
 /burqa/ 'veil' (KM-271)

Final:

1. Ur. -q ← Ar. -q

/tauq/ 'necklace' (KM-268)
 /iśq/ 'love' (KM-410)
 /rafiq/ 'friend' (AN-82)

22. The Sources of Urdu /m/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. m- ← MIA m- ← OIA m-

(a) Ur. mūh ← MIA muha ← OIA mukha

/mūh/ 'face' (KS-71)

(b) Ur. mātī ← MIA mittiā ← OIA mrttikā

/mātī/ 'earth' (KS-74)

(c) Ur. mīthā ← MIA mīṭṭha ← OIA mīṣṭa

/mīthā/ 'sweet' (DF-210)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -m- ← MIA -mb- ← OIA -mr-

(a) Ur. amba ← MIA amba ← OIA āmra

/amba/ 'mango' (BK-60)

2. Ur. -m- ← OIA -m-

(a) Ur. baman, brahman ← OIA brāhmaṇa

/baman/ 'Brahman' (BK-39)

/brahman/ 'Brahman' (BK-44)

3. Ur. -m < MIA -mm < OIA -rm

(a) Ur. kām < MIA kamma < OIA karma

/kām/ 'work' (KM-479)

(B) Persian and Arabic

Initial:

1. Ur. m- < Per-Ar. m-

/maut/ 'death' (DQM-124)

/misl/ 'like' (DD-125)

/mard/ 'man' (AN-50)

/muktasar/ 'brief' (AN-72)

/mādar/ 'mother' (SB-28)

Medial:

1. Ur. -m- < Per-Ar. -m-

/qamar/ 'moon' (DQM-104)

/rahmat/ 'mercy' (AN-82)

/qayamat/ 'resurrection' (SB-55)

/šamšir/ 'sword' (AN-107)

Final:

1. Ur. -m < Per-Ar. -m

/hukm/ 'order' (DQM-104)

/muallim/ 'teacher' (SB-28)

/ālam/ 'world' (DD-114)

/šabnam/ 'dew' (DD-114)

/payām/ 'message' (AN-53)

23. The Sources of Urdu /n/

(A) MIA and OIA

Initial:

1. Ur. n- < MIA n- < OIA n-

(a) Ur. nīd < MIA nidda < OIA nidrā
/nīd/ 'sleep' (BK-31)

(b) Ur. nārī < MIA nārī < OIA narī
/nārī/ 'woman' (BK-40)

(c) Ur. nāc < MIA nacca < OIA nr̥tya
/nāc/ 'dance' (KS-53)

Medial and final:

1. Ur. -n- < MIA -n- < OIA -n-

(a) Ur. pānī < MIA pānia < OIA pāniya
/pānī/ 'water' (KS-71)

2. Ur. -n < MIA -nn- < OIA -rn-

(a) Ur. pān < MIA panna < OIA parna
/pān/ 'betel-leaf' (DSN-275)

(b) Ur. kān < MIA kanna < OIA karna
/kān/ 'ear' (DF-242)

3. Ur. -n < MIA -n- < OIA -n-

(a) Ur. sāvan < MIA sāvana < OIA śrāvana
/sāvan/ 'a month' (BK-37)

3. u > u :

Sk. *dugdha* > Pr. *duddha* > Ur. *dūdh* 'milk'

Sk. *putra* > Pr. *putta* > Ur. *pūt* 'son'

Sk. *uṣṭra* > Pr. *utta* > Ur. *ūt* 'camel'

(b) Single Consonants

1. Aspirates become h e.g.

kh > h :

Sk. *mukh* > Ur. *mūh* 'mouth'

th > h :

Sk. *kath* > Ur. *kah* 'to say'

gh > h :

Sk. *megha* > Ur. *mēh* 'rain'

dh > h :

Sk. *dauhi* > Ur. *dahī* 'curd'

2. Voiceless stops become voiced stops, e.g.

k > g :

Sk. *śaka* > Ur. *sāg* 'vegetable'

Sk. *kaṅka* > Ur. *kaṅga* 'bracelet'

c > j :

Sk. *kuñcika* > Ur. *kunjī* 'key'

Sk. *pañcak* > Ur. *pañjā* 'paw'

t > d :

Sk. *ghotaka* > Pr. *ghodaś* > Ur. *ghorā* 'horse'

Sk. *kīṭaka* > Pr. *kidaś* > Ur. *kīrā* 'wain'

3. Retroflex η becomes alveolar n , e.g.

Sk. parṇa > Ur. pān 'betel'

Sk. karṇa > Ur. kān 'ear'

Sk. dviguna > Ur. dagnā 'double'

4. The Sanskrit sibilants \check{s} and $\check{ṣ}$ becomes s , e.g.

$\check{s} > s$:

Sk. śvāsa > Ur. sās 'breath'

Sk. śat > Ur. sau 'hundred'

Sk. śrāvana > Ur. sāvan 'a month'

$\check{ṣ} > s$:

Sk. varṣa > Ur. baras 'year'

Sk. āṣāḍh > Ur. asārḥ 'a month'

5. Interchange of consonants, e.g.

$v > b$:

Sk. vaśa > Ur. bas 'power'

Sk. vānara > Ur. bandar 'monkey'

Sk. sarva > Ur. sab 'all'

Sk. vāyu > Ur. bāv, bāo 'wind'

$y > j$:

Sk. yava > Ur. jav 'barley'

Sk. kārya > Ur. kāj 'work'

Sk. yatha > Ur. jatan 'care'

$\check{s}, \check{ṣ} > h$:

Sk. pāṣāṇa > Ur. pahār 'mountain'

Sk. dvādaśa > Ur. bārah 'twelve'

(c) Compound Consonants

1. Stops + stops become a single stop, e.g.

gdh > ddh > dh :

Sk. dugdha > Pr. duddha > Ur. \overline{dudh} 'milk'

pt > tt > t :

Sk. sapta > Pr. satta > Ur. $\overline{sāt}$ 'seven'

2. Trill + semi-vowel become stop, e.g.

rv > b :

Sk. sarva > Ur. sab 'all'

3. Stop + trill become a single stop, e.g.

tr > t :

Sk. putra > Ur. $\overline{pūt}$ 'son'

Sk. patra > Ur. $\overline{pāt}$ 'leaf'

4. Trill + stop become a single stop, e.g.

rp > p

Sk. sarpa > Ur. $\overline{sāp}$ 'snake'

rb > b :

Sk. durbala > Ur. $\overline{dublā}$ 'thin'

5. Stop + sibilant or sibilant + stop become aspirate, e.g.

ks > kh :

Sk. kṣetra > Ur. khet 'field'

Sk. śikṣā > Ur. $\overline{sīkh}$ 'learn'

st, sk > th, kh :

Sk. hast > Ur. $\overline{hāth}$ 'hand'

Sk. puṣkara > Ur. pokharā 'pond'

Following are some of the tadbhava words which have developed from Sanskrit and occur in Old and Middle Urdu texts:-

1. Afzal : Bikat Kahani ----

birah	viraha	'separation' (p.31)
āg	agni	'fire' (p.32)
nit	nitya	'perpetually' (p.32)
ghar	graha	'home' (p.32)
nain	nayana	'eye' (p.34)
jatan	yatna	'effort' (p.37)
koil	kokila	'cuckoo' (p.37)
sāvan	śrāvana	'a month' (p.38)
sūkhā	śuṣka	'dry' (p.38)
barkhā	varṣā	'rain' (p.39)
pardes	pradeśa	'foreign country' (p.40)
sādesā	sandēśa	'message' (p.41)
baan	vacana	'promise' (p.41)
agan	agni	'fire' (p.45)
bhes	veśa	'appearance' (p.46)
sis	śīśa	'head' (p.49)
dos	dosa	'fault' (p.49)
baras	vara	'year' (p.51)
mūrah	mūrkha	'stupid' (p.57)

mīt	mitra	'friend' (p.57)
janam	janna	'birth' (p.58)
bis	visa	'poison' (p.62)

2. Raushan 'Alī : 'Āshūr Nāma -----

pargat	prakata	'manifest' (p.34)
kāran	kāraṇa	'cause' (p.35)
ākḥ	akṣi	'eye' (p.38)
bhāi	bhrātra	'brother' (p.45)
baṇan	vaṇana	'promise' (p.57)
rāt	rātri	'night' (p.57)
hiyā	hridaya	'heart' (p.60)
mīrg	mīrga	'deer' (p.75)
nīd	nidrā	'sleep' (p.86)
ghorā	ghotaka	'horse' (p.115)
āsū	āsru	'tear' (p.96)
ran	raṇa	'battle' (p.106)
rāj	rājya	'empire' (p.122)
sās	śvāsa	'respiration' (p.131)
acraḥ	āścarya	'surprise' (p.137)
kāj	kārya	'task' (p.204)

3. Ismail Anrohvi : De Qadīm Masnawiyān -----

byāh	vivāha	'marriage' (p.112)
bhik	bhikṣā	'alms' (p.126)
mīt	mitra	'friend' (p.131)

jatan	<	yatna	'effort' (p.155)
hath	<	hasta	'hand' (p.158)
būr̥hā	<	vr̥dha	'old' (p.155)

4. Fāiz : Dīvān-e-Fāiz ----

hiran	<	hirana	'deer' (p.197)
darpan	<	darpana	'mirror' (p.198)
khol	<	kṛīḍā	'game' (p.199)
sūraj	<	sūrya	'sun' (p.201)
chab	<	chavi	'beauty' (p.205)
gat	<	gati	'motion' (p.208)
mīthā	<	mīṣṭa	'sweet' (p.210)
kiran	<	kirana	'ray of light' (p.214)
abhūkan	<	ābhūṣana	'ornaments' (p.215)
ban	<	vana	'forest' (p.217)
daras	<	darśana	'looking, view' (p.218)
caran	<	carana	'foot' (p.229)
chan	<	ksana	'moment' (p.229)
dūdh	<	dugdha	'milk' (p.230)
sobhā	<	śobhā	'beauty' (p.233)
dat	<	danta	'tooth' (p.239)
madh	<	madhu	'honey' (p.245)

5. Faslī : Karbāl Kathā ----

ghorā	<	ghoṭaka	'horse' (p. 83)
bahan	<	bahini = bhaginī	'sister' (p.102)

kothrī	<	koṣṭhaka	'room or chamber' (p.108)
kān	<	karna	'ear' (p.112)
hôt, hōth	<	oṣṭha	'lip' (p.113)
baras	<	varsa	'year' (p.121)
rāt	<	rātri	'night' (p. 124)
ādhi	<	ardha	'half' (p.124)
gāhak	<	grāhaka	'purchaser' (p.134)
byāh	<	vivāh	'marriage' (p.148)
pūt	<	putra	'son' (p.149)
mitṭī, mōṭī	<	arttikā	'earth' (p. 149)
jīb	<	jihvā	'tongue' (p.168)
sāj(h)	<	sandhyā	'evening' (p.171)
ādhyār	<	andhkār	'darkness' (p.201)
bhūi	<	bhūmi	'earth' (p.207)
bhatījā	<	bhrātrjā	'nephew' (p.209)

6. 'Iswī Khān Bahādur : Qissa-e-Dehrafroz-e-Dilbar

ched	<	chidra	'hole' (p.35)
bhaṭṭrā	<	bhramara	'black bee' (p.39)
bistār	<	vistāra	'extension' (p.43)
parbat	<	parvata	'mountain' (p.53)
sapnā	<	svapna	'dream' (p.60)
ād	<	ardha	'half' (p.87)
viśvās	<	viśvāsa	'trust' (p.91)
gun	<	guṇa	'quality' (p.119)

dīp	<	dvīpa	'continent' (p.126)
dhīraj	<	dhairya	'firmness' (p.135)
acraj	<	āścarya	'astonishment' (p.140)
gadha	<	garīabha	'ass' (p.143)
bithā	<	vyathā	'affliction' (p.179)
biyog	<	viyoga	'separation' (p.181)
jot	<	jyoti	'lustre' (p.188)
bikh	<	visa	'poison' (p.206)
sacc	<	satya	'true' (p.311)

7. Ābrū : Dīwān-e-Ābrū ----

ban	<	vana	'arrow' (p.3)
acraj	<	āścarya	'astonishment' (p.4)
jot	<	jyoti	'lustre' (p.5)
jogi	<	yogi	'ascetic' (p.6)
birah	<	viraha	'separation' (p.11)
ghīv	<	ghṛta	'ghee' (p.14)
bis	<	visa	'poison' (p.21)
agan	<	agni	'fire' (p.29)
bīptā	<	vipatti	'hardship' (p.37)
mūrakha	<	mūrkha	'stupid' (p.46)
rakat	<	rakta	'blood' (p.168)
jug	<	yug	'time, age, period' (p.212)

Some scholars of Indo-Aryan also recognise a sub-class, ardha-tatsama or semi-tatsama between the tatsama and tadbhava.

Ardha-tatsamas are those words which have come directly from Sanskrit and not through the stages of MIA — Prakrit or Apabhramṣa. Such forms are nearer to Sanskrit forms and do not show drastic change in their structure. One of the examples of semi-tatsama word is karan. It is nearer to the Sanskrit form karma than to its corresponding Prakrit form kamma meaning 'dead'.

3. Desi or Desai words

Desi means 'of the country' or aboriginal. The words which cannot be derived from any Sanskrit or Prakrit (i.e. tatsama or tadbhava) words, are called Desi words. According to John Beams such words are considered to have been borrowed from the aborigines of the country or invented by the Aryans in post Sanskritic times.⁸² According to Dr. S.K. Chatterj Desi words cannot be traced to Aryan roots. They are derived from the pre-Aryan languages of the country such as Dravidian, kol etc. As he holds, the true Desi words are relics from the dialects employed in the land before the masses took up the Aryan speech.⁸³

Side by side the tatsama and tadbhava words, there are a number of Desi words in Urdu whose origins are not known and whose equivalents are not found in Sanskrit and Prakrit. A few of Desi words used in Old and Middle Urdu are given below:-

82. A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages of India, p. 12.

83. The Origin and Development of the Bengali language, pp.191-92.

pet < petta ⁸⁴	'stomach'	(KK-15)
katorā < kattorag ⁸⁵	'bowl'	(KK-194)
katār < katāra ⁸⁶	'dagger'	(AN-83)
dhōl < dholla ⁸⁷	'drum'	(DSN-323)
ghūt < ghūta ⁸⁸	'draught'	(KS-90)
jhār < jhāda ⁸⁹	'tree'	(DM-158)
ghāt < ghatta ⁹⁰	'ferry, quay'	(DF-232)

4. Perso-Arabic and Turkish Words

Though Urdu has an Indo-Aryan base, its vocabulary, due to certain historical reasons, is mainly of Perso-Arabic origin. For many centuries Persian had been the official, cultural and prestigious language in India. The Muslim conquerors who came to India, from time to time, were speaking different languages like Arabic, Turkish, Persian and some other languages of central Asia. Of them Persian had been

84. Vasudeva S. Agrawal (ed.), Pala - Sudda Mahanaya, [Comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary], 2nd.ed. (Varansi, 1963), p. 614.

85. Ibid., p.215.

86. Ibid., p.215.

87. Ibid., p.376.

88. Ibid., p.308.

89. Ibid., p.366.

90. Ibid., p.304.

the most dominant language which exerted an enormous influence in North India. The Muslim rulers of India right from Mahmud of Ghazna to the Mughals were mostly the Turks and Turkish was their mother tongue which they spoke at home, "but they had been already influenced and softened to such an extent by their civilized subjects in what is now Afghanistan, viz., by the Persians of the Eastern Iranian tracts, as to have accepted the latter's language as their official and cultural language, to the exclusion of their mother tongue,"⁹¹.

Arabic had assumed an important status in Iran after the Arab conquest. Persian had borrowed a number of words from Arabic along with the script. When the Turks and the Persians came to India, Arabic also came with them as their religious language. Persian, which enjoyed the status^{of} the official and cultural language of India had absorbed a large quantity of Arabic and Turkish words during the course of about one thousand years.

In Urdu there is no direct borrowings from Arabic and Turkish. Arabic and Turkish words came into Urdu through the medium of Persian, "after these were naturalized in that language and had confirmed to its phonetics."

91. S.K. Chatterji, Indo-Aryan and Hindi, p. 184.

Though Urdu has borrowed words from different languages especially from Persian and Arabic, the Indic vocabulary has got the basic importance in the structure of Urdu as it would be quite impossible in Urdu to compose a single sentence without using Indic words, though many sentences might be composed in which not a single Perso-Arabic word occurred. Syed Insha's Rānī Ketāī kī Kahānī (1803) in prose and Arzu Lucknowi's Surīlī Bangurī in verse are examples of the same kind of Urdu in which except Indic words not a single Perso-Arabic word has been used.⁹²

Like tatsama and tadbhava words, Perso-Arabic words have also been used in Urdu since the time of its inception. In its early stages Urdu developed in the form of Rekhta (mixed). In the beginning it was the language mixed with Persian words, clauses and even sentences. The ghazals of Amir Khosrau and Afzal's Bikāt Kahānī are few such examples in which side by side with Urdu, there occur also the Persian phrases, clauses and idioms. As the time passed the syntactic elements of Persian in Urdu were reduced and there remained only the lexical influence of this language. In respect of its vocabulary Urdu still remained Rekhta or mixed one.

Urdu was borrowing words from Persian in conformity with its own phonetics and genius or usage but towards the middle of the 18th century there was a reaction in favour of

92. Masud Hasan Rizvi Adib, Urdū Zabān aur Uskā ḥaṣṣ-e-Khat, 2nd ed. (Lucknow, 1961), p. 23.

the original Persian pronunciation and spelling of the words borrowed from that language. Shāh Nātim (1699-1781) disfavoured the use of a number of Indic words and substituted Persian words for a large number of tatsamas and tadbhavas. This indicates the growing authority of Persian and standardization of Urdu during the second half of the 18th century in Delhi and during the first half of the 19th century in Lucknow.

The Perso-Arabic words in Urdu are of different categories. They can be roughly classified under the following heads:-

1. Words relating to religion: ilāhī 'my God' (DQM-103), rasūl 'prophet' (DQM-104), nabī 'prophet' (DQM-105), qayāmat 'resurrection' (DQM-105), xudā 'God' (DQM-105), farištā 'angel' (DQM-108), bahīšt 'paradise' (DQM-109), munīm 'believer' (DQM-111), wahī 'revelation' (AN-34), jahannam 'hell' (AN-36), dozakh 'hell' (KS-223), malak 'angel' (AN-46), imām 'religious leader' (AN-60), namāz 'prayer' (AN-62), masāra 'tomb' (AN-63), sayāb 'spiritual, reward' (KK-65), qurān 'the Quran' (KK-65), haj 'pilgrimage to Mecca' (KK-68), ibādāt 'worship' (KK-84), yasn 'ablution before prayer' (KK-84), azān 'call to prayer' (KK-86), masjid 'mosque' (KK-87), sajdā 'prostration, bowing down' (KS-35), shariāt 'religious law' (KS-35), dīn 'religion' (KS-38), etc.

2. Words relating to kingly state, administration and laws: tāi 'crown' (AN-35), hukm 'order' (AN-37), shāhsādā 'prince' (AN-43), xilāfat 'succession' (AN-46), intisām 'administration' (AN-49), manāī 'clerk' (AN-50), navištā 'letter' (AN-50), qāsid 'messenger' (AN-50), taxi 'throne' (AN-53), darbān 'door-keeper' (AN-57), nahal 'palace' (AN-58), raīs 'chief, head' (AN-74), qasī 'judge' (AN-81), ādil 'just' (QMD-1), adālat 'court' (QMD-1), insāf 'justice' (QMD-1), hādshāh 'king' (QMD-2), vasīr 'minister' (QMD-2), salтанat 'kingdom' (QMD-4), qilā 'fort' (QMD-10).

3. Words relating to army and warfare: faul 'army' (BK-37), xanjar 'dagger' (AN-42), jang 'war' (AN-49), qatl 'murder, killing' (AN-56), qātil 'murderer' (AN-56), salāh 'weapon' (AN-58), dušman 'enemy' (AN-64), kūc 'march, departure' (AN-71), payādā 'footman, soldier' (AN-80), tīr 'arrow' (AN-83), šamšīr 'sword' (AN-83), tağ 'sword' (AN-83), laškar 'army' (AN-92), hamlā 'attack' (AN-107), kārazar 'battle' (AN-106), zann 'wound' (KK-90), zannā 'tent' (KK-137), mohim 'serious affair' (KK-144), sulh 'reconciliation' (KK-144), sipāh 'army' (KK-156), sipah-sālār 'commander-in-chief' (KK-156), negā 'spear' (KK-157), fath 'victory' (KK-158), majrūh 'injured' (Sl, MR) etc.

4. Words relating to cloth and dress: pardā 'curtain' (QMD-18), dastār 'turban' (QMD-185), sarpec 'turban' (QMD-185),

jāmā 'garment' (DF-199), qabā 'long garment open in front' (DF-209), rūnāl 'handkerchief' (DF-231), libās 'dress' (DF-231), naṣvās 'a full dress gown, generally worn by a bride' (DF-242), ṣalvār 'trousers' (DF-242), tubbā 'cloak' (KM-107), xirṣā 'patched garment' (KM-107), kuḷāh 'cap' (KM-122), kafan 'shroud' (KM-141), qādar 'sheet' (KM-144), paṣrahan 'mantle' (KM-210), lab 'pocket' (DD-135) etc.

5. Words relating to fruit and food: dānā 'grain' (KS-37), ṣarāb 'wine' (KS-57), āb 'water' (KS-69), quandar 'beet-root' (KS-97), anār 'pomegranate' (KS-103), līmū 'lemon' (KS-130), nāṣ 'a kind of pulse' (KS-139), namak 'salt' (KS-139), ḥāṣ 'pottage or soup' (KS-140), piṣā 'onion' (KS-148), murabbā 'jam' (KS-148), nān 'bread' (KS-160), anṣūr 'grape' (KS-175), qaṣṭ 'meat' (KS-188), kaḥāb 'roasted meat' (KS-223), ṣarḥāt 'syrup' (DSM-141), samar 'fruit' (DSM-148), ṣaḥād 'honey' (DSM-220), gandum 'wheat' (DSM-247), qabūlī 'dish made of rice and gram-pulse' (QMD-175), qalyā 'fricassée' (QMD-175), firṣī 'pudding made with rice, milk and sugar' (QMD-175), falūdā 'sweet beverage containing starch jelly in the form of thin fibres' (QMD-176) etc.

6. Words relating to disease and cure: hakīm 'physician' (KS-137), maṣṣā 'patient' (KS-137), ḍayā 'medicine' ḥifā 'recovery from sickness' (KS-137), taḥṣīs 'diagnosis' (KS-138), maṣlā 'catarrh, rheum' (KS-138), naḥs 'pulse' (KS-138),

diq 'tuberculosis' (KS-138), attār 'druggist' (KS-138), tabīb 'physician' (KS-138), māiūn 'kneaded' (KS-138), hullāb 'purgative' (KS-138), dast 'diarrhoea' (KS-138), qabḥ 'constipation' (KS-139), raṣiā 'intricacy' (KS-139), haiṣā 'cholera' (KS-139), ṣaxa 'wound' (KS-139), ātīāk 'syphilis' (KS-139), dard 'pain' (KS-140), sahr 'poison' (KS-140), laṣyā 'paralysis' (KS-140), fālīl 'paralysis' (KS-140), bīmār 'patient' (DA-125), parhoḥ 'prevention' (DA-125), ilāl 'treatment' (DA-169) etc.

7. words relating to body : ruṣṣār 'cheek' (DA-3), lab 'lip' (DA-3), naḥ 'height, stature' (DA-4), abru 'eye-brow' (DA-4), xāl 'mole' (DA-6), subān 'tongue' (DA-8), naḥn 'eye' (DA-12), ruḥ 'face' (DA-12), niṣṣā 'eye-lash' (DA-12), dahan 'mouth' (DA-15), kanār 'waist' (DA-51), aḥk 'tear' (DA-52), xūn 'blood' (DA-88), āriḥ 'cheek' (DA-93), gardan 'neck' (DA-99), gesū 'lock of hair' (DA-130), liḡar 'liver' (DA-132), niṣṣā 'eyelash' (DA-146), dil 'heart' (DA-190), ṣiṣā 'chest' (DD-109), pā 'foot' (DD-124), nāḡun 'nail' (DD-157), tan 'body' (DD-157), badan 'body' (DD-157), sar 'head' (DD-161), doḡ 'shoulder' (DD-161), ruḥt 'back' (DD-176), dast 'hand' (DD-194), gulf 'hair' (MHJ-297), kaf 'palm' (MHJ-304), goḥ 'ear' (DSN-227), sehrā 'face' (DSN-224), nāf 'navel' (KM-189), etc.

8. words relating to fine arts : fan 'art' (DF-198), ṣaar 'poet' (DF-199), taṣvīr 'picture' (KM-116), naḡṣā 'painter' (KM-116), naḡḥ 'painting' (KM-116), aḡa 'reflection' (KM-129), dīvār 'wall' (KM-131), but 'idol' (KM-147), saḡ

'stone' (KM-149), dar 'door' (KM-177), šabih 'portrait' (KM-192), rang 'paint, colour' (KS-72), suzan 'poetry' (KS-173), lafz 'word' (KS-173), tašbih 'simile' (KS-173), mānā 'meaning' (KS-173), mafhūm 'sense' (KS-173), qasid 'lyric poem' (KS-196), naḡmā 'song' (DA-138), xūbūrat 'beautiful' (QMD-11), etc.

9. Words relating to aesthetics, love and emotion:

ḡam 'beauty' (KS-225), ḡaḡ 'love' (KS-227), ḡoḡā 'kiss' (KS-227), ḡāḡiq 'lover' (KS-229), yaḡal 'union' (KS-246), yaḡā 'faith' (KS-257), nāḡuk 'delicate, tender' (KS-267), ḡoḡ 'jovial' (KS-270), ḡoḡabbat 'love, affection' (KS-272), ḡaḡm 'shame, pudency' (KS-277), ḡaḡar 'spring' (MMJK-293), ḡul 'flower' (MMJK-298), muḡtarib 'restless' (KM-302), ḡirāḡ 'separation' (KM-308), ḡam 'grief' (KM-313), ḡirḡā 'weeping' (KM-314), ḡalam 'sorrow' (KM-327), ḡinḡing 'KM-341), ḡaḡtā 'intoxication' (KM-347), ḡaḡā 'graceful manner, coquetry' (KA-377), ḡḡilāt 'mixing up' (KM-404), ḡaḡāl 'beauty' (KM-496), ḡaḡāl 'separation' (KM-501), ḡaḡāḡ 'over-filled' (DF-201), ḡaḡr 'separation' (DF-201), ḡaḡk 'emulation' (DF-210), ḡaḡāḡul 'feigning' (DF-216), ḡaḡā 'oppression' (DF-216), ḡaḡr 'affection' (DA-136), ḡaḡk 'tear' (DEN-244),

10. Miscellaneous words: ḡaḡa 'person' (BK-32), ḡaḡ 'intellect' (BK-34), ḡilā 'trick' (BK-36), ḡuḡnan 'enemy' (BK-36), uḡr 'life' (BK-43), ḡikr 'thought' (BK-46), ḡaḡā 'will' (AN-52), ḡaḡḡān 'message' (AN-52), ḡaḡr 'poison' (AN-56), ḡaḡat 'woman' (AN-57), ḡat 'letter' (AN-64), ḡoḡ 'day' (AN-68), ḡaḡal 'death' (AN-72), ḡaḡf 'fear' (AN-96), ḡaḡal 'eternity, beginning' (DOM-104), ḡaḡḡat 'reality' (DOM-114), ḡaḡ 'special' (DOM-115),

khush 'happy' (DQM-116), baḥār 'mankind' (DQM-124), farīštā 'angel' (DQM-128), ṭaḥnā 'thirsty' (MR-S), mātān 'mourning' (MR-S), bāg 'garden' (SI,MR), ālam 'world' (MR-S), qissā 'story' (MR-S), farzand 'son' (QR,MR) shām 'evening' (DF-195), said 'pray' (DF-201), ada 'voice' (DF-222), subh 'morning' (DF-233), tārīf 'praise' (KK-53), marḡ 'death' (KK-64), sabr 'patience' (KK-72), bād 'after' (KK-74), shahr 'city' (QMD-8), shohrat 'fame' (QMD-12), ṭaḥfih 'surprise' (QMD-25), mānīd 'like' (QMD-31), asar 'effect' (DD-111), ṭān 'cup' (DD-123) etc.

The Turkish words in Urdu are mainly relating to the army, food, dress and social titles.⁹³ A few of such words which occur most frequently in the texts analysed are as follows:-

top 'cannon' qānū 'knife', tonci 'cannanier', yalgar 'attack', yūriş 'attack', sināhī 'soldier', naccārā 'kettle drum', ṭangā 'medal', qāh 'dish' qia 'folding screen made of thin sticks of bamboo', camcā 'spoon', toṣak 'bedding', lāş 'dead body', bāvarcī 'cook', qorma 'brown stew', qīmā 'pounded meat', xātūn 'noble woman, lady', xan 'master, chief, title used by the pathans', xānan 'woman of rank', title of the wife of a khan', beg 'lord or prince', bībī 'mistress' of the house venerable lady', āgā gentleman, Sir, bāgan 'lady of rank', bābā 'papa, daddy' qazāc 'cossack' saugāt 'gift sent or brought by a traveller', qāş 'slice', kumak 'aid, help', lālā 'tulip', şāl 'shawl' surās 'olive' etc.

93. Akmal Ayyabi, "Urdu par Turki Zaban ke Asarat" the Tahrir (Delhi, January - March 1971), pp. 53-64,

CHAPTER 5

DEVELOPMENT OF URDU ORTHOGRAPHY

The Urdu orthography is an adaptation of the Persian script which is the extended form of the Arabic script.⁹⁴ In Iran and India the Arabic script underwent through various changes and modification during the course of the last one thousand years.

The Arabic script was brought to Iran by the Arabs who conquered this country in 637 A.D. The Iranians made certain reforms in this script when they used it for their own language. In the beginning the Arabic alphabetical system had only 29 letters including hanza.⁹⁵ Khawaja Ab-ul-'Alī of Iran added four new letters to them to represent the four Persian consonantal sounds, making the total number of letters,⁹⁶ Such letters are: پ (pe), چ (ce), ژ (ze) and گ (gaf).⁹⁶

Calligraphically, Arabic was (and still is) written in Khat-e-Naskh (the Naskh writing). Khawaja Mir 'Alī Tabrizī, by combining the two styles of writing — Naskh and Taliq,⁹⁷ invented a new form of writing system known as Nastaliq which is used for Urdu today. The manuscripts belonging to North India such as Bikar Khabari, 'Ashūr Nāma, Karbāl Kathā, Siāsa-e-Mehrafrōs-e-Dilbar etc. are in Nastaliq. With few exceptions Deccani manuscripts are generally written in Khat-e-Sulā.

94. The Arabic script is based on the Nabatean script which is derived from the Aramaic script.

95. Muhammad Ishaq Siddiqi, Pan-e-Tahrir ki Tārīkh, 1st ed. (Aligarh, 1962), p. 210.

96. Ibid., p. 220.

97. Taliq was invented in the 4th century A.H. by Hasan bin Husain Ali Farsi with combination of Ruq'ā' and Tauqī', the two styles of writing popular in Iraq.

When the Muslims came to India, they also brought their script. Though they were speaking at least three languages—Arabic, Persian and Turkish, they were using only one script i.e. the Perso-Arabic script.

After 1193 A.D. when Urdu was coming gradually into prominence in and around Delhi, Persian, under the Muslim rule, enjoyed the status of the cultural and official language of North India. Within the period of a century Urdu was put to use for literary expressions in the hands of Khusrāu (1253-1325) and others. Then there arose the question of its orthography. Since in its initial stages, Urdu was in the form of Rakhta (mixed) and its early writers were also Persian writers, they adopted the Persian script for Urdu without any hesitation. Since then Urdu is being written in this character. It was, perhaps, considered to be the most appropriate script for the newly born language, since its vocabulary consisted of thousands of words from Arabic and Persian languages. The particular sounds of such words could not be represented by Devanāgarī letters or letters of any other script. Being Islamic in character, this script had been in close contact with Muslims.

In course of the time certain reforms, additions and modifications were made in India in the Perso-Arabic script. Urdu in the course of its development adopted 14 pure Indian (Hindi) sounds, mostly aspirated and a few of them retroflex. To represent 3 unaspirated retroflex sounds, three new letters

ط (te), د (dāl) and ر (re) were added to the Perso-Arabic alphabets, increasing the total number of letters to 36. Out of 14 Hindi sounds, 11 are aspirates. They are represented in Urdu by the letter ه (do caṣhmā 'he') or (hāe makhlūt) plus the preceding letters representing the consonants. Such sounds are represented as: پھ, بھ, تھ, دھ, ٹھ, ڈھ, چھ, جھ, کھ, گھ, ڄھ transcribed as ph, bh, th, dh, th, dh, ch, jh, kh, gh, rh respectively. These letters are not the part of the Urdu alphabetical system, because they are traditionally considered as the two letters combined or blended (makhlūt) into one. But phonetically speaking, they are the significant individual speech sounds, having the status of the separat phonemes of Urdu.

The Urdu alphabetical system consists of 37 letters⁹⁸ out of which 33 are consonants. Of the remaining four letters ا (alif) and ے (barī ye) serve as pure vowels and و (wāo) and ِ (choti ye) are used as semi-vowels and vowels both.

Some of the letters represent the same sound in Urdu. For example, the three letters, viz., ث (se), س (sīn) and ص (swād) represent the same sound of /s/. Similarly the sound /z/ is represented by four letters - ذ (zal), ز (ze), ض (zwād) and ڙ (zoe) and ح (he-hattī) and ه (he-hawwaz) have only the sound /h/. Out of 37 letters of Urdu no less than 7 are redundant, viz., ث (se), ح (he), ذ (zal), ص (swād), ض (zwād), ب (toe) and ڙ (zoe).⁹⁹

98. Muhammad Zakir, Lessons in Urdu Script, 1st ed. (New Delhi, 1970), p.2.

99. Masud Hussain Khan, "Urdu Sautiyāt kā Khaka", Shor-o-Zabān (Hyderabad, 1966) p.252.

In the Urdu orthography, the letters ط، ظ، ض، ص، ح، ث are peculiar to Arabic words. ص is used in a few Persian words, e.g. صد (sad) 'a hundred'. The letters ذ، خ and ز and غ are common to both Arabic and Persian words. The letter ش occurs in Persian words alone. پ، چ، گ may occur in Persian or Hindi words, but never in those derived from the Arabic. ٹ، ڈ، ٲ and the eleven blended letters representing aspirates such as پھ، بھ، etc. can occur in Hindi words alone. The remaining letters are common to Hindi, Persian and Arabic words.¹⁰⁰

In Old Urdu manuscripts sometimes certain pure Indian words are spelt with Perso-Arabic letters. In Karhal Katha the words like سات /sāt/ 'seven' is written as ثات (pp.115,121, 206), اسی /assī/ 'eighty' as اثی (p.169) and دھارس /dhāras/ 'courage' as دھارث (p.186). Similarly in Do Qadīm Maṣnaviyān بیاہ /byāh/ 'marriage' is written as بیا ح (p.112). Gissā-e-Mehraṣ-e-Dilbar records تیر /tītar/ 'partridge' as طیر (p.160) etc.

Sometimes no care is taken to write the words, derived from Arabic and Persian, with their conventional spellings. This inconsistency is notably found in ‘Ashūr-Nāma which records the words like, صفر /safar/ '2nd month of the Islamic calendar' as سفر (p.238), زہیر /zahīr/ 'poisonous' as ظہیر (pp.85,116) بعد /bād/ 'after' as باد (p.112), حوا /hawā/ 'Eve' as ہوا (pp.144,169)
100. John T. Platts, A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language, 1st Indian ed. (Delhi, 1967), pp. 4-5.

نعل /nāl/ 'horse shoe' as نال (p.175), نثر /naṣr/ 'prose' as سر (p.239) and یاقوت /yāqūt/ 'ruby' as یقوت (p.69). Wrong spellings are recorded in other texts also. The examples are فرات /farāt/ 'a river in Iraq' as فراط (KK-169), ثوابان /savābā/ 'compensations, as صوابان (D.N-163), نذر /nazr/ 'gift, present', as نظر (D-327), صدا /sada/ 'voice' as سدا (D.N-110) etc. One reason may be accounted for this practice. The early writers wrote as they spoke. In favour of a more phonetic spelling they often discarded the original spellings of the Perso-Arabic words.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century there was a 'scholarly reaction' in favour of Persian and Arabic and the spellings like دوان، بگانه، صحنی، تبسی etc. were discarded by Hatim (1699-1781) as incorrect, and original spelling restored.

In Old Urdu literature as it is recorded in manuscripts, there is the apparent absence of stable orthography. At least two reasons may be assigned for this lack of uniformity. First, the modifications and alterations made in spellings in the process of transcriptions. Most of the Old Urdu texts are copies from the manuscripts originally written by the author. There is possibility of normalizing the spelling of the original manuscript to confirm with the scribe's own. It is also possible that in the process of transcription he would, unconsciously allow the spellings quite different from the

original ones. Second, the lack of spelling rules: In the early stages, when Urdu came to be written in the Perso-Arabic script, there was no consistency in the use of certain letters. For example, in the texts written during the 17th, 18th, and even 19th centuries, no distinction was made between ک (kāf) and گ (gāf). The voiceless velar plosive /k/ was represented by the letters ک and گ both. Similarly the voiced velar plosive /g/ was sometimes denoted by the letter ک and sometimes by گ. This lack of stability is noted even in Haragga-e-Qhalib.¹⁰¹ In old Urdu manuscripts we have words having the letter ک (kāf) but representing the sound /g/. The examples are دیک (KB-69) for دیگ /deg/ 'big pot', گئے (DK-131) for گئے /gae/ 'went', کاری (DE-149) for گاری /gārī/ 'carriage', کالی (DK-106) for گالی /gālī/ 'abuse', کنتی (KK-75) for گنتی /gintī/ 'counting' and کر (KK-64) for گیر /gir/ 'fall down'.

Similarly no distinction is made between the letters ی (yāe mārūf) and ے (yāe majhūl). Sometimes ی is written as ے and ے as ی. Such examples are found abundantly on every page of 'Ashūr Nāma.¹⁰² In Gissa-e-Mehrairoz-e-Dilbar too the scribe does not make distinction between ی and ے. With the exception of a few examples ی is generally written as ے.¹⁰³ The examples from other texts are ہوئی (DK, MS "B"-106) for ہوے /huae/ 'became', کی (DE-147) for کے /ke/ 'of'

101. Muhammad Ansarullah, Urdū ke Hurūf-e-Tahaffi (Karappa, 1972), p.28.

102. Masud Husain Khan, "Preface", 'Ashūr Nāma, p.13.

103. Masud Husain Khan, "Preface", Gissa-e-Mehrairoz-e-Dilbar, p.35.

ی (DF-147) for ہ /hai/ 'is', می (DF-147) for می /majhe/ 'me' etc.

This tendency is also due to the influence of the Persian script on Urdu. In Persian the difference between ی and ہ is not grammatical. The words whether written with ی or ہ do not affect the meaning but in Urdu the substitution of ی by ہ and vice versa is responsible for the change of meaning hence the difference between them is grammatical in Urdu. It, therefore, became necessary to include both the letters to the alphabetical system of Urdu.

The irregularity is also found in the use of the two shapes of 'h' hawwaz, viz., ه (hāe-mukhtaḥī) and و (hāe-makhlūt). In Old texts of Urdu sometimes ه is recorded as و and و as ه. The examples are: چائ (KB-67) for چائ /chāo/ 'shade', (EB-70, MS 'B') for کولہ /kulhā/ 'fire place', پن (BK-93, MS 9) for پن /phan/ 'hood of a snake', کچ (AN-13, Pref.) for کچ /kuch/ 'some', تھ (AN-13, Pref.) for تھ /tujh/, 'thou', گھر (DQM-160, MS 'B') for گھر /ghar/ 'home' etc. Under the Persian influence ه is written in the place of و. There are instances where و has been used in the place of ه, e.g., کھا (DQM-160, MS 'B') for کھا /kaha/ 'said' and باہم (DQM-160, MS 'B') for باہم /baham/ 'together'. In Persian and Arabic, where there is no existence of aspirated sounds, distinction is not made between the two shapes of the letter 'h' (hawwaz). In these languages they are only the two shapes of the same letter representing only one and the same sound, whereas in Urdu و is used to indicate the aspiration.

Letters representing the retroflex sounds of Urdu like /t/, /d/ and /r/ have undergone through various changes during the course of times. Like aspirates, retroflex sounds are also native and do not exist in Arabic and Persian languages. When the Perso-Arabic script was adopted for Urdu, there arose the problem of representing such sounds. Instead of devising new letters, the retroflex sounds /t/, /d/ and /r/ were denoted, in the beginning, by ت, د and ر -- the letters originally meant to represent the alveolar sounds /t/, /d/ and /r/ respectively. In Khālīq Bārī we come across with words like اینٹ for /īt/ 'brick' پیت for /pet/ 'stomach', ڈھکنا for /dhaknā/, 'to cover' برا for /barā/ 'big', کیرا for /kīrā/ 'worm'. In Dīwān-e-Fāiz too, the sounds /t/, /d/ and /r/ are represented by ت, د and ر.

In later periods three dots (.) were put on the symbols ت, د and ر to represent the retroflex sounds /t/, /d/, and /r/ giving the shapes as ث, ڈ and ژ. The retroflex sounds are represented by these letters in Do Qadīm Masnawīyan Karbal Kathā etc. In this device the letter ث (te) became identical with the letter ث (se) and ژ (re) with the letter ژ (se). To word this resemblance, one more dot was added to ث, ڈ and ژ giving the form of the letters as ث, ڈ and ژ. In Khālīq Bārī, Ashūr Nāma etc., the retroflex sounds are represented with letters having four dots (: :). In Khālīq Bārī these dots are put sometimes below the letters as in the

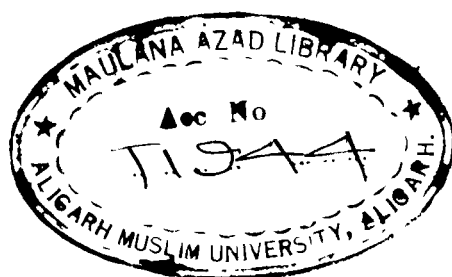
cases of ^{پہاڑی} پہاڑ /pahār/ 'mountain', /dār̥hī/ 'beard' ^{دولی} دولی /dolī/, 'litter' etc.

For the sake of convenience, the upper two dotes were joined together as in $\bar{\bar{a}}$, $\bar{\bar{e}}$ and $\bar{\bar{i}}$. Sometimes another two dots were also joined as in $\bar{\bar{a}}$ and $\bar{\bar{e}}$. To make it more convenient sometimes one dash was removed from the letter as in \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{i} . The retroflex sounds are denoted by the letters having one or two dashes in Qissa-e-Mehrafrōz-o-Dilbar.

During the early 19th century, it was in the Fort William College, Calcutta, that the diacritic marks were used to denote the retroflex sounds of Urdu, giving the form of the letters as \bar{a} , \bar{e} and \bar{i} . Since then these letters have been in use in the Urdu script.

The Old Urdu orthography is characterized with instability. Through out the Old Urdu period the spelling does not obey hard and fast rules. It is due to this absence of stable orthography that the exact pronunciation of certain words could not be decided. It is also sometimes difficult to whether a particular word was used as masculine or feminine by particular author. There were no fixed rules for spellings and combination of letters, since Urdu at the time of Afzal, Faiz and Fazli was not the written language in general, and unless a language is written properly its orthography cannot be either fixed or standardized.

PART II
P H O N O L O G Y



PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER 6

PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF URDU

6.1 General Statement

By 1800 A.D. Urdu had fully developed its present phonological system. It had inherited from OIA through MIA almost all its vowels: / ī i ē ā a o ū u / and a large number of consonants such as / p ph b bh t th d dh ṭ ṭh c ch j jh k kh g gh m n ṇ l r s š h v y /. By this time Urdu had borrowed many sounds from Persian and Arabic such as / f z ʒ ɟ q /. Besides them, Urdu, during the course of its development, had developed some of its own sounds like / ɾ rh /. Certain other sounds which Urdu developed are, mh, nh, lh, rh, vh and yh. Urdu never adopted at any stages of its developments, the Hindi - Sanskrit, ऋ , ॠ , ऌ , ॡ , and ॢ ; Urdu also did not adopt the Arabic ذ , ض , ط , ظ , ث , ش , ض , ح , ع as phonemes but retained those as letters in its orthographic system. There are certain instances where even these letters have not been retained. Such examples are: الوداع (AN-70) for الوداع 'farewell', باد (AN-112) for بعد 'after', نہا (KK-248) for نہا 'Eve', سدا (DSN-118) for صدا 'voice', عیس (DA-91) for عیش 'vain', میرا (DA-173) for مصرعہ 'line of verse', ہال (LA-53) for حال 'condition' etc.

1. The retroflex nasal /n/ represented in Hindi as ण and in Urdu as ڻ is rarely found in the texts written in the south. (cf. Shanā'il-i-Aṭīyā by Miran Ya'qub, edited by Badi Hussaini). This sound, however, has not been found in any of the texts of North India.

Urdu has altogether 48 phonemes: 38 consonants including 2 semi-vowels, 8 vowels, one juncture phoneme and one phoneme of nasalization. All these phonemes are represented in the given texts of Urdu.

The consonants may be classified (1) according to the manners of articulation into stops, nasals, lateral, trill, flaps and fricatives, (2) according to the points of articulations into bilabial, labio-dental, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar, uvular and glottal, and (3) according to the presence or absence of voice into voiced or voiceless. Stops and flaps may again be classified as to the presence or absence of aspiration, into aspirated or unaspirated.

A further classification of consonants can be made according to their sources:²

1. Consonants of Indian origin: / ph bh th dh ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ jh kh gh ṛ ṛh /.

2. Consonant of Persian origin / ʔ /

3. Consonant of Arabic origin / q /

4. Indic and Persian consonants combined: / p b t ṭ c j k g m n l r s ṣ h v y /

5. Indic and Arabic consonants combined: / b t d j k m n l r s ṣ h v y /.

6. Persian and Arabic consonants combined: / b t d j k q m n l r f s z ṣ x g h v y /

2. Masud Husain Khan, Shar-o-Zabān (Hyderabad, 1966), p.250

7. Indic, Persian and Arabic consonants combined:

/ b t d j k m n l r s š h v y /.

Urdu has the following 8 vowels: / ī i ē ā a o ū u / . It has not adopted any of the Persian and Arabic vowels.³ The vowels can be classified according to: (1) the height of the tongue, into high, mid and low, (2) according to the part of the tongue, into front, central and back and (3) according to the position of lips, into spread, neutral and rounded. Vowels may also be classified into short and long.

In Urdu, all the vowels are nasalized. Nasalisation in Urdu is phonemic. This feature is not found in Sanskrit.⁴ Urdu has borrowed it from MIA.

Urdu has also juncture. Like nasalisation it is also phonemic.

6.2 Phonemic Inventory

Consonant and vowel phonemes of Urdu established on the basis of the written records available during the period of 1600-1800 A.D. are listed in the table below:

1. Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	ī		ū
	i		u
Mid	e	a	o
Low		ā	

3. IBRAHIM, p.250.

4. Satya Narayan Tripathi, Hindī Bhāṣā aur Līnī kā Aitihāsik Vīkṣā, 1st ed. (Gorakhpur, 1964), p. 75.

2. Consonants:

	Bila-	Labio-	Alve-	Retro-	Palato-	Pala-	Velar	Uvular	Glo-						
	bial	dental	olar	flex	Alveolar	tal			ttal						
	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd			
Stops:Unasp.p	b				t	d	ṭ	ḍ			c	j	k	g	q
Asp.ph	bh				th	dh	tḥ	dḥ			ch	jh	kh	gh	
Nasals	m				n									ṇ	
Lateral					l										
Trill					r										
Flaps:Unasp.								ṛ							
Asp.								rḥ							
Fricatives		f		s	z			ʃ	ʒ		x	ɣ			h
Semi-Vowels			v								y				

3. Nasalisation: / ~ /

4. Juncture: / + /

6.3. Vowel Contrasts

With few exceptions, all the Urdu vowels occur initially, medially and finally. Here, the contrasts have been shown in monosyllabic words. Subminimal pairs have been provided for those vowels which do not provide the minimal pairs.

Initially:

/ī/	/īd/	'Eid' (AN-44)
/i/	/is/	'this' (DF-210)
/e/	/ek/	'one' (DF-234)
/a/	/ab/	'now' (BK-50)
/ā/	/āb/	'water' (DSN-109)
/ū/	/ūt/	'camel' (AN-215)
/u/	/us/	'that' (DF-234)
/o/	/ot/	'covering' (DA-60)

Medially:

/ī/	/khīl/	'parched grain' (KK-110)
/i/	/khil/	'to bloom' (DSN-124)
/e/	/khel/	'sport' (KS-62)
/a/	/dar/	'door' (DSN-104)
/ā/	/dār/	'gallow' (DSN-124)
/ū/	/dūr/	'far' (DF-169)
/u/	/dur/	'pearl' (DSN-105)
/o/	/khol/	'to open' (DSN-108)

Finally:

/ī/	/kī/	'of' (KK-182)
/i/	/ki/	'that' (DF-201)

/e/	/ne/	'agentive marker' (KK-235)
/a/	/na/	'no, not' (DF-222)
/ā/	/bā/	'with' (AN-61)
/ū/	/bū/	'smell' (BA-153)
/u/	(It does not occur finally).	
/o/	/ko/	'to' (DF-208)

6.4 Distribution of Vowels

1. The short vowel /u/ does not occur in word final position. Two other short vowels /i/ and /a/ also do not occur finally except in the following two words:

/ki/	'that' (DF-203)
/na/	'no, not' (DF-203)

2. The long vowels occur freely in word initial, medial and final positions.

3. Short vowels / i a u / occur initially in a very few monosyllabic words.

4. Short vowels occur freely before intervocalic and final geminations. Long vowels rarely occur in these positions. Short vowels are also very common before final clusters, e.g.

/kuttā/	'dog' (DLN-112)
/haad/	'limit' (BK-66)
/sabr/	'patience' (KS-226)

6.5 Monosyllabic Vowel Sequences

The following monosyllabic vowel sequences occur in Urdu. The vowel sequences in these words constitute a single syllable which is the characteristic of a diphthong. The examples are as follows:

/ai/	/saiyād/	'fowler' (DSH-92)
/au/	/auval/	'first' (AN-36)

6.6 Disyllabic Vowel Sequences

Besides monosyllabic sequences Urdu has also disyllabic vowel sequences. They occur medially and finally. When they occur medially they involve the sequence of a syllable closing vowel and a syllable opening vowel. There are four possibilities of such sequences:

1. Both vowels are long as in /tāūs/ 'peacock' (KK-235).
2. Both vowels are short as in /taajjub/ 'surprise' (DA-4).
3. First vowel is short and the second is long as in /laīn/ 'damned' (AN-79).

4. First vowel is long and the second is short as in /sāat/ 'moment' (KK-76).

Following are some of the di-syllabic vowel sequences occurring in texts.

/ia/	/matabiat/	'obedience' (KK-245)
/eī/	/vaqēī/	'real' (KK-136)
/āi/	/ārāis/	'decoration' (DA-9)
/āe/	/dāem/	'always' (DF-204)
/āa/	/sāat/	'moment' (KK-76)
/āo/	/jāo/	'go (imp.)' (AN-125)
/ūu/	/tāūs/	'peacock' (KK-235)
/aī/	/laīn/	'damned' (AN-79)
/ai/	/rustaid/	'ready' (AN-124)
/ae/	/bhae/	'became' (BK-31)
/aā/	/saādat/	'goodness' (KK-232)
/aa/	/taaġjub/	'surprise' (DA-4)
/ūā/	/raġmūā/	'whole' (KK-12)
/uī/	/tuī/	'thou (emphatic)' (AN-33)
/ue/	/hue/	'became' (DA-77)
/uā/	/muāf/	'(to) forgive' (KK-77)
/ua/	/muallim/	'teacher' (KK-11)
/oi/	/roi/	'wept' (KK-244)
/oe/	/dhoē/	'washed' (KK-222)
/oā/	/doā/	'blessing' (DA-185)

The following table lists the vowel sequences which occur in the given texts.

	<u>i</u>	i	e	a	<u>a</u>	<u>u</u>	u	o
<u>i</u>								
i				ia				
e	e <u>i</u>							
a	a <u>i</u>	ai	ae	aa	a <u>a</u>	a <u>u</u>		
<u>a</u>	<u>a</u> <u>i</u>	ai	ue	aa		<u>a</u> <u>u</u>		<u>a</u> o
<u>u</u>	<u>u</u> <u>i</u>		<u>u</u> e		<u>u</u> <u>a</u>			
u	u <u>i</u>		ue	ua	u <u>a</u>			
o	o <u>i</u>		oe		o <u>a</u>			

6.7 Consonant Contrasts

Following are the minimal and sub-minimal pairs showing contrasts for the more pertinent pairs of consonants. All consonants, with the exception of a few, can occur initially, medially and finally. But in the restricted data it is difficult to find the minimal pairs contrasting in the word initial, medial and final positions for all the consonants. In the following computations sub-minimal pairs have been provided where the minimal pairs are not available.

1. Voiceless and Voiced Stops

/p b/:

/pal/	'moment' (DSN-151)
/bal/	'twisting' (KS-38)
/sipās/	'thanks' (AN-68)
/libās/	'dress' (DF-231)
/bāp/	'father' (KK-63)
/bāb/	'chapter' (DQM-105)

/t d/:

/tār/	'thread' (QMD-88)
/dār/	'gallow' (DSN-124)
/vatan/	'native country' (KK-138)
/badan/	'body' (AN-128)
/bāt/	'matter, talk' (BK-51)
/bād/	'after' (KK-89)

/ṭ ḍ/:

/tāl/	'to put aside' (DSN-303)
/dāl/	'branch' (DA-76)

/c j/:

/cāl/	'gait' (DF-216)
/jāl/	'snare' (DSN-22)
/kācan/	'woman who sells vegetable' (DF-239)
/kājal/	'lamp-black' (DA-45)
/bīc/	'middle' (DF-229)
/bīj/	'seed' (DSN-203)

/k g/:

/kāl/	'famine' (DSN-259)
/gāl/	'check' (LF-239)
/nikāh/	'wedding' (AN-123)
/nigāh/	'look' (DA-124)
/bāk/	'fear' (DA-40)
/bāg/	'rein' (AN-117)

/s z/:

/sāl/	'year' (DF-195)
/zāl/	'old, grey headed' (AN-57)
/īsā/	'Christ' (DA-40)
/īzā/	'annoyance' (DQM-132)
/bās/	'dwelling' (DA-91)
/bās/	'hawk' (DA-88)

/š ž/:

/šāl/	'shawl' (DA-48)
/žālā/	'hailstone' (DA-208)
/miškī/	'black' (DSN-92)
/mižgā/	'eye-lid' (DSN-119)
(/ž/ does not occur finally)	

/x g/:

/xār/	'thorn' (AN-219)
/gār/	'cave' (AN-35)
/baxīl/	'miser' (DA-104)
/bagal/	'arm-pit' (DA-105)

2. Unaspirated and Aspirated stops

/p ph/:

/pal/ 'moment' (DF-196)

/phal/ 'fruit' (DOM-158)

/b bh/:

/bāg/ 'rein' (AN-117)

/bhāg/ 'fortune' (BK-52)

/t th/:

/tāl/ 'tune in music' (DSN-65)

/thāl/ 'big dish' (DA-218)

/setī/ 'from' (DA-186)

/sāthī/ 'companion' (BK-37)

/sāt/ 'seven' (DOM-137)

/sāth/ 'with' (DOM-152)

/d dh/:

/dār/ 'gallow' (DSN-124)

/dhār/ 'edge', (LF-246)

/bādā/ 'wine' (DF-215)

/bādha/ 'tied' (AN-225)

/t th/:

/tāt/ 'sack cloth' (KB-69)

/thāt/ 'framework of bamboo' (BK-34)

/pet/ 'stomach' (DA-4)

/pīth/ 'back' (DA-84)

/ḍ dh/:

/ḍāl/ 'branch' (DA-76)
 /dhāl/ 'shield' (DSN-304)

/c ch/:

/cāl/ 'move' (Imp.)' (KS-38)
 /chāl/ 'deception' (DSN-65)

/j jh/:

/jāl/ 'snare' (DSN-22)
 /jhār/ 'tree' (D.M-158)

/k kh/:

/kāl/ 'famine' (DSN-259)
 /khāl/ 'skin' (DF-238)
 /lukā/ 'to hide' (BK-41)
 /likhā/ 'wrote' (DSN-58)
 /ruk/ 'stop (imp.)' (DSN-178)
 /dukh/ 'pain' (DSN-36)

/g gh/:

/gar/ 'if' (DQM-152)
 /ghar/ 'house' (DQM-107)
 /māg/ 'ask (imp.)' (DSN-135)
 /māgh/ 'a month' (BK-53)

/r rh/:

(/r rh/ do not occur initially)
 /barā/ 'big' (QND-264)

/barhā/	'to increase' (QMD-264)
/bār/	'hedge, fence' (AN-106)
/kār/	'to take out' (DA-103)

3. Dentals and Retroflexes

/t t/:

/tāl/	'tune in music' (DSN-65)
/tāl/	'to put aside' (DSN-303)
/bāt/	'matter' (BK-51)
/bāt/	'weight', measure' (DA-60)

/th th/:

/thāt/	'body' (AN-176)
/thāt/	'a frame work for thaching' (BK-34)
/sāth/	'with' (DQM-152)
/sāth/	'sixty' (AN-109)

/d d/:

/dar/	'in' (AN-175)
/dar/	'fear' (AN-146)
/rād/	'defeat (imp.)' (KK-117)
/rād/	'widow' (KK-82)

/dh dh/:

/dhar/	'edge' (DF-246)
/dhāl/	'shield' (DSN-304)

4. Lateral and Trill

/l r/:

/lāt/	'kick' (DF-243)
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/bər̥hā/ 'to increase' (LH-264)

/bār/ 'hedge, fence' (AN-106)

/kār̥h/ 'to take out' (DA-103)

3. Dentals and Retroflexes

/t t̥/:

/tāl/ 'tune in music' (LH-65)

/tāl/ & 'to put aside' (DA-303)

/bāt/ 'matter' (BK-51)

/bāt/ 'weight', measure' (DI-60)

/th t̥/:

/thāt/ 'body' (AN-176)

/thāt/ 'a frame work for thachina' (BK-34)

/sāth/ 'with' (DL-152)

/sāth/ 'sixty' (AN-109)

/d d̥/:

/dar/ 'in' (AN-175)

/dar/ 'fear' (AN-146)

/rād̥/ 'defeat (imp.)' (LH-117)

/rād̥/ 'widow' (KH-82)

/dh d̥h/:

/dhār/ 'edge' (LH-246)

/dhāl/ 'anila' (LH-304)

4. Lateral and Trill

/l r/:

/lāt/ 'kick' (DH-243)

/rāt/	'night' (DF-199)
/bhalā/	'in vain' (DA-109)
/bharā/	'full' (DA-94)
/nāl/	'horse-shoe' (DSN-311)
/nār/	'fire' (DQM-106)

5. Bilabial and Alveolar Nasals

/m n/:

/māl/	'wealth' (DQM-152)
/nāl/	'horse-shoe' (AN-175)
/nām/	'name' (DQM-103)
/nān/	'bread' (DSN-18)

6. Trill and Flap

/r r/:

(/r/ does not occur initially)

/dhar/	'to put' (KK-7)
/dhar/	'body without head' (KK-7)
/burā/	'bad' (DA-166)
/barā/	'great' (DA-85)

7. Velar and Uvular

/k q/:

/kamar/	'waist' (DF-229)
/qamar/	'moon' (KK-13)

8. Semi-vowels /v/ and /y/

/v y/:

/v̄ar/	'attack' (AN-149)
/ȳar/	'friend' (DF-234)
/huv̄a/	'became' (DF-214)
/hayā/	'shame' (AN-128)

6.8 Distribution of Consonants

1. /r̄ rh/ do not occur initially. /r̄/ also does not occur geminated except in /carr̄/ 'to ride' (AN-98). /r̄, rh/ vary with /ḍ dh/ in medial and final positions such as /er̄ ~ ed/ 'spur' (AN-128 ~ 181), /būr̄hā būdhā/ 'old' (KK-129 250). In word medial and final positions /ḍ/ occurs after nasalized vowel such as /rād̄/ 'widow' (KK-82), /bhād̄/ 'buffoon' (DF-234) /hād̄ī/ 'small cauldron' (KB-69) etc. and after nasal such as /ḍand̄/ 'gymnastic exercise' (DSN-62), /jhandā/ 'flag' (BK-34) etc. /ḍ/ occurs geminated in intervocalic position, e.g., /hadd̄ī/ 'bone' (KK-179) etc.

2. /ṣ/ occurs only initially and medially. It does not occur in word final position.

3. Aspirated stops do not occur geminated. All consonants except /x/, /g/, /ṣ/ /n/ and /r/ occur as geminates or double consonants.

4. /n/ does not occur initially. It occurs only medially and finally. In medial position /n/ occurs in homorganic (nasal + stop) clusters: / ñ k, ñ g / and / ñ kh, ñ gh /, as in the words like /dank/ 'sting' (BK-1), /hangāmā/ 'uproar' (DF-136), /firangī/ 'Christian' (AN-134), /pankh/ 'wing' (BK-40), /pankhā/ 'fan' (AN-47). /n/ does not occur in intervocalic position. It also does not occur geminated. In word medial position it contrasts subminimally with another nasal /n/, e.g.

/kankar/ 'limestone' (KS-69)

/mankar/ 'name of an angel' (DOM-118)

Or

/sangāt/ 'company' (DF-230)

/panghat/ 'quay' (DF-230)

In word final position /n/ contrasts with /ŋ/. In this position it varies with the homorganic cluster /ŋg/, e.g.

/raŋ/ 'battle' (AN-112)

/raŋ ~ rang/ 'colour' (BK-53)

Or

/tan/ 'body' (AN-90)

/tan ~ tang/ 'tight' (DF-249)

5. The semi-vowels /v/ and /y/ occur initially and medially. In word final position /v/ does not occur after

vowels except in the words /jiv/ 'soul' (QMD-212) Sk. jīva and /ghiv/ 'ghree' (KB-69) Sk. ghṛta. In this position it occurs as the second member of the consonant cluster, e.g., /azv/ 'limb' (DA-93), /afw/ 'tolerance' (AN-48) /sarv/ 'a tall tree' (DF-212) etc. /v/ does not occur as the first member of the cluster. When /v/ occurs intervocally it varies with the glide from close to open back vowel, e.g. /huvā ~ huā/ 'became' (AN-34). /y/ occurs initially and medially. It does not occur in word final position. It also occurs as the second member of the initial cluster, e.g., /pyārī/ 'lovely' (DF-208), /kyā/ 'what' (DF-230) etc. In intervocalic position it varies with the glide from close to open and more open front vowel, e.g. /liye ~ lie/ 'for' (KK-243) /diyā ~ diā/ 'gave' (KK-259) etc.

6. Sometimes the word final /n/ is dropped and as a result the preceding vowel is nasalized. This factor may be characterised as /n/ in certain cases varying with / ~ /. The examples are mainly from poetry:

- /jān/ ~ /jā̃/ 'soul' (DA-88 ~ 87)
 /xūn/ ~ /xū̃/ 'blood' (DSN-125 ~ 78)
 /pān/ ~ /pā̃/ 'betel-leaf' (DSN-29 ~ 6)

6.9 Nasalization

The nasalization of vowels in Urdu is phonemic. It occurs with all vowels though not in all positions. The

following pairs show the contrasts between nasalized and non-nasalized vowels.

/ã ā/:

/bāt/ 'to distribute' (DA-131)

/bāt/ 'way' (BK-45)

/ã a/:

/hāsan/ 'to laugh' (BK-39)

/hasan/ 'Hasan' (AN-122)

/ē ē/:

/kaha/ 'where' (BK-49)

/kaha/ 'said' (KK-171)

/ā a/:

/jā/ 'soul' (DF-215)

/jā/ 'going' (EK-39)

/ū ū/:

/xū/ 'blood' (KM-310)

/xū/ 'habit' (KM-599)

/ī ī/:

/thī/ 'were' (KK-2)

/thī/ 'was' (KM-463)

6.10 Juncture

Juncture is also phonemic in Urdu. It is mostly found in the works of Kaji, Abru, Mazzam and Yakrang. The following contrasts establish the juncture phoneme:

(a) /jalkāval/ 'water-lotus'

/jal + kāval/ 'to be jealous + lotus'

-----rašk eĩ jal kāval kahe haihāt

(DA-67)

(b) /bahrām/ 'Bahram' (proper noun)

/bah + rūm/ 'Ham was swept away'

-----saut ke sail mē gayā bahrām

(DA-116)

(c) /parde/ 'curtains'

/par + de/ 'give feathers'

-----xudāvandā uthāde darmiyā eĩ hijr ke parde

hamāre dām mē saiyād ko lā yā hamē par de

(DA, Pref.-39)

(d) /ārizi/ 'temporary'

/āriz + ī/ 'pertaining to check'

-----uske ruxsār dekh jītā hū

ārizi merī zindgānī hai

(DSN-244)

6.11 Consonant Clusters

The consonant clusters in Urdu mainly consist of the sequence of two consonants which occur initially, intervocally and finally. The initial clusters are quite rare in Urdu.

1. Initial clusters:

In the initial position the following types of consonant clusters are found in Urdu. In these clusters the second element is always a semi-vowel.

(a) stop + semi-vowel = py, ky, by

(b) fricative + semi-vowel = xv

Examples:

py- /pyārī/ 'lovely' (DF-208)

ky- /kyā/ 'what' (KS-224)

by- /byāh/ 'marriage' (DEN-112)

xv- /xvārī/ < Per. xurdan 'to eat' (DF-215)

2. Final clusters:

The major patterns of the word final clusters are listed below:

(1) Stop +	stop	= dq,qt
	nasal	= tm
	lateral	= tl,ql,kl
	trill	= kr,jr,br
	fricative	= bh,bz,qs,tf.

Examples

-dq /sidq/ 'true' (MKA)

-qt /vaqt/ 'time' (AN-38)

-tm /xatm/ 'end' (DEN-254)

-tl /qatl/ 'murder' (DEN-254)

**A HISTORICAL GRAMMAR
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**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN LINGUISTICS TO
THE ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH**

**BY
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**DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH**

1975

PREFACE

The present work was taken up exactly four years ago when on the 6th of September, 1971, my application for admission to Ph.D. in Linguistics was approved by the Committee for Advanced Studies and Research of the Faculty of Arts, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. The topic for the proposed research work was suggested by Prof. Masud Husain Khan, the then Head of the Department of Linguistics, AMU, who very kindly consented also to supervise my work.

Soon after the topic was approved, I busied myself collecting the material. Since it was intended to be a historical study, the search for written texts of the period started. It would have been very difficult for me to have access to Old Urdu manuscripts, a number of which still lie unpublished, but with the kind help and able guidance of Prof. Masud Husain Khan, I was able to surmount the difficulty. I traced some important Old works both in fragmentary and complete forms, but made use of only those whose authenticity was undoubted and undisputed.

The present work covers the period of a little more than two hundred years which on the basis of linguistic peculiarities is divided into three stages: Old Urdu (1600-1700) early Middle Urdu (1700-1750) and late Middle Urdu (1750-1800).

Of the texts of Old Urdu (OU) analysed in the following pages, Afzal's Bikar Kahani, Rausahn Ali's 'Ashir Nama', Asmail Anrohi's masnavia and a number of masnavas known as Marasi-av

IV

Rakhta written by several poets of North India are worth mentioning. The important authors who figure in early Middle Urdu (eMU) are Mir Jafar Zataillī, Fāiz Dehlavī, Fazlī, Īsawī Khān Bahādur, Arzū, Ābrū, Shāh Hātim, Yakrang, Masnūn, Mirsā Mashar etc. The poetic works of Mir, Saudā, Dard, Soṃ, Mir Hasan and certain other authors of the period form the basis of the study of late Middle Urdu (lMU).

Urdu, towards the beginning of the 19th century entered into the modern era of its development. The present study therefore does not include any of the texts written after 1800 A.D.

The present work is concerned mainly with the attempt to trace the changes and developments which took place in the phonological, morphological and syntactic structures of Urdu during the course of about two hundred years i.e. from 1600 to 1800 A.D. in northern part of the Indian sub-continent. Urdu which is basically, an Indo-Aryan speech finds its origin in Apabhramsha, Prakrit and Sanskrit. Its vocabulary, (with the exception of Perso-Arabic words) which includes tatsama and tadbhava words, its affixes, verbal roots, pronouns and particles are all derived from CIA through MIA with which the scholars of Urdu do not seem to be much familiar. John T. Platts, an Urdu grammarian of a century ago, remarked that it was notorious how Urdu scholars were grossly ignorant of the origin and derivation of words and the formation of cases and tenses in their own language since these were not derived from Persian and Arabic. The attempt in this work, therefore, has also been made to link the history of the development of Urdu to MIA and through it to CIA.

Y

Much work has been done on the historical grammar of Deccani Urdu which abounds in specimens of prose and poetry. Unlike those of Deccani Urdu, the literary records of the Urdu of North India are few and far between. It is due to this paucity and non-availability of specimens that nothing could so far be written on the historical grammar of Urdu of North India. This work is the first systematic study to understand the evolution of the language from Sanskrit through Prakrit and Apabhramsa to Old Urdu and from Old to Middle Urdu.

A study of the grammar of Urdu in North India, such as the present work sets out to be, would be of immense importance to the understanding of the modes of change introduced in the phonological and grammatical systems of Urdu during the course of many centuries. It would facilitate the understanding of the linguistic development of Urdu in the North in particular and that of Hindi in general. The grammars of Urdu and Hindi have much in common since both the languages have evolved from the same stock i.e. Khari Boli. The historical grammar of Urdu is of considerable help to the understanding of the development of the grammar of Hindi.

In the preparation of the work I was in a close touch with the grammars like A Comparative grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India (John Beames), A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language (John T. Platts), A Grammar of the Hindi Language (S.H. Kellogg), A Grammar of Old Marathi (Alfred Master), The Origin and Development of Bengali Language (S.K. Chatterji), Evolution of Awadhi (Baburam Saksena)

Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa (G.V.Tagore), The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri (U.N.Tiwari), Dakkhini Hindi ka Udbhava aur Vikas (Shri Ram Sharma), Hindi Bhasa ka Itihas (Dhirendra Verma), Hindi Bhasa (Bhola Nath Tiwari), Urdu Qawaid (Moulvi Abdul Haq), Urdu Zabān ka Itiḥās (Shaukat Sabzwari) and Prof. Masud Husain Khan's Muqaddama-e-Tarikh-e-Zabān-Urdu.

When the work was nearing completion. Prof. Masud Husain Khan left Aligarh for Jamia Millia Islamia to become its Vice-Chancellor. In the absence of Prof. Khan, Dr. A. Ghaffar Shakeel supervised my work and gave valuable suggestions. I am extremely grateful to both Prof. Masud Husain Khan in whose close contact this study was done and Dr. A.G. Shakeel with whose help and guidance it was completed and given the final shape.

I am thankful to Prof. S. Masud Hasan Rizvi 'Adib' of Lucknow who allowed me to visit his personal library and to copy out the MSS of Harāsiy-e-Rakhta which is in his possession alone and is still unpublished. I met him many times at his residence and discussed certain problems of Old Urdu. I am also thankful to Dr. Naim Ahmad (Dept. of Urdu, AMU.) who made available to me the texts of Mir Jafar Zatali. My thanks are also due to my colleagues Dr. Hans Raj Dua and Mr. Iqtidar Husain Khan whose suggestions and comments have been of great assistance to me.

I should also like to thank my wife, Durdana who besides giving me encouragement kindly revised the typed manuscript and

VII

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Finally, I would also like to thank the Secretary, University Grants Commission for sanctioning the grant of Rs.1,500/- under the Scheme of Financial Assistance to Teachers in universities for undertaking research and learned work.

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T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

PREFACE	III
ABBREVIATIONS	XIII
TRANSCRIPTIONS	XV

P A R T I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

CHAPTER 1. ORIGIN OF URDU	2
CHAPTER 2. URDU LANGUAGE IN ITS HISTORY	7
CHAPTER 3. DIALECTS INFLUENCING URDU	29
CHAPTER 4. VOCABULARY OF URDU	43
CHAPTER 5. DEVELOPMENT OF URDU ORTHOGRAPHY	68

P A R T II

P H O N O L O G Y

CHAPTER 6. PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF URDU	78
6.1 General Statement	78
6.2 Phonemic Inventory	80
6.3 Vowel Contrasts	82
6.4 Distribution of Vowels	83
6.5 Monosyllabic Vowel Sequences	84
6.6 Disyllabic Vowel Sequences	84
6.7 Consonant Contrasts	86
6.7.1 Voiceless and Voiced Stops	87
6.7.2 Unaspirated and Aspirated Stops	89
6.7.3 Dentals and Retroflexes	91
6.7.4 Lateral and Trill	92
6.7.5 Bilabial and Alveolar Nasals	93
6.7.6 Trill and Flap	93
6.7.7 Velar and Uvular	93
6.8 Distribution of Consonants	94
6.9 Nasalization	96
6.10 Juncture	97

IX

6.11	Consonant Clusters	98
6.11.1	Initial Clusters	99
6.11.2	Final Clusters	99
6.11.3	Medial Clusters	102
6.12	Consonant Geminates	103
6.13	Syllabic Structures	105
CHAPTER 7.	SOURCES OF URDU SOUNDS	110
7.1	General Statement	110
7.2	Sources of Urdu Vowels	110
7.3	Sources of Urdu Consonants	119
CHAPTER 8.	PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES	170
8.1	Vowel Changes	170
8.1.1	Loss of Final Vowels	170
8.1.2	Aphaeresis	171
8.1.3	Anaptyxis	172
8.1.4	Prothesis of Vowels	174
8.1.5	Lengthening of Vowels	174
8.1.6	Shortening of Vowels	176
8.1.7	Omission of Inter-Consonantal Vowels	176
8.1.8	Treatment of OIA /r/	177
8.1.9	Nasalisation of Vowels	178
8.2	Consonantal Changes	181
8.2.1	Aspiration	181
8.2.2	Deaspiration	182
8.2.3	Voicing	183
8.2.4	Interchange of Consonants	183
8.2.5	Changes of OIA Consonant Clusters	189
8.2.6	Treatment of Arabic /ʔ/ and /ʕ/	194
8.2.7	Treatment of Perso-Arabic Final /h/	195
CHAPTER 9.	FREE OR NONDISTINCTIVE VARIANTS	197
9.1	General Statement	197
9.2	Variants in Old Urdu	198
9.3	Variants in early Middle Urdu	202
9.4	Variants in late Middle Urdu	205
9.5	Variants in OU, eIU and lIU	206

PART III

M O R P H O L O G Y

CHAPTER 10.	FORMATION OF WORDS BY AFFIXES	210
10.1	General Statement	210
10.2	Prefixes	211

X

10.2.1	Tatsama Prefixes	211
10.2.2	Tadbhava Prefixes	212
10.2.3	Perso-Arabic Prefixes	214
10.2.4	Perso-Arabic Prefixes added to Tadbhas	216
10.3	Suffixes	217
10.3.1	Tatsama Suffixes	218
10.3.2	Tadbhava Suffixes	219
10.3.3	Perso-Arabic Suffixes	224
10.3.4	Persian Suffixes added to Tadbhavas	227
CHAPTER 11.	FORMATION OF COMPOUND WORDS	229
11.1	General Statement	229
11.2	Pure Urdu Compounds	229
11.2.1	Copulative Compounds or Dvandva	229
11.2.2	Determinative Compounds	232
11.2.3	Attributive Compounds	233
11.3	Perso-Arabic Compounds	234
11.3.1	Copulative Compounds	234
11.3.2	Determinative Compounds	235
11.3.3	Attributive Compounds	237
11.3.4	Loose Compounds	238
CHAPTER 12.	NOUNS	240
12.1	Stems	240
12.1.1	Stems ending in Vowels	241
12.1.2	Stems ending in Consonants	242
12.2	Genders	249
12.2.1	Formation of Feminine from Mas.	251
12.2.2	List of Common words which are Mas.	254
12.2.3	List of Common words which are Fem.	259
12.3	Numbers	263
12.3.1	Formation of Plurals	264
12.3.2	Perso-Arabic Plurals	279
12.3.3	Plural of Plural	282
12.3.4	Plurals used as Singulars	282
12.3.5	Duals	283
12.3.6	List of Plural Terminations	283
12.3.7	Distribution of Plural Terminations	284
12.4	Cases	284
12.4.1	Termination of Cases	285
12.4.2	Postpositions	287
CHAPTER 13.	ADJECTIVES	289
13.1	General Statement	289
13.1.1	Qualitative Adjectives	289
13.1.2	Pronominal Adjectives	290
13.1.3	Numeral Adjectives	291

XI

13.2	Declension of Adjectives	297
13.3	Comparison of Adjectives	298
13.3.1	Comparative Degree	298
13.3.2	Superlative Degree	299
13.4	Intensity of Adjectives	299
13.4.1	By Prefixing Adverbs	299
13.4.2	By Adding <u>sa</u> (<u>si</u> , <u>se</u>)	300
13.4.3	By Repetition	300
13.5	The Uses of Adjectives	300
13.5.1	Attributive Use	301
13.5.2	Predicative Use	301
13.6	Persian Adjectives	301
CHAPTE	14. PRONOUNS	303
14.1	General Statement	303
14.2	Personal Pronouns	303
14.2.1	First Person Pronouns	305
14.2.2	Second Person Pronouns	316
14.3	Demonstrative Pronouns	327
14.3.1	Proximate Demonstratives	327
14.3.2	Remote Demonstratives	327
14.4	Relative Pronouns	335
14.5	Correlative Pronouns	338
14.6	Interrogative Pronouns	341
14.7	Indefinite Pronouns	343
14.8	Reflexive Pronouns	345
14.9	Pronominal Adjectives	348
CHAPTER	15. VERBS	351
15.1	General Statement	351
15.2	Roots	353
15.2.1	Classification of Roots	354
15.2.2	Primary Roots	354
15.2.3	Secondary Roots	359
15.3	Formation of Infinitive	363
15.4	The Noun of Agency	367
15.5	Formation of Participles	368
15.5.1	The Imperfect Participles	369
15.5.2	The Perfect Participles	371
15.5.3	Irregular Perfect Participles	374
15.5.4	Conjunctive Participles	375
15.6	Tenses	379
15.7	Auxiliaries	379
15.8	Classification of Tenses	381
15.8.1	Tenses formed from the Root	381
15.8.2	Tenses formed from the Imp.Participle	389
15.8.3	Tenses formed from the Perf Participle	397
15.9	Active and Passive	403

XII

15.10	Formation of Causal Verbs	405
15.10.1	The First Causal	405
15.10.2	The Second or the Double Causal	406
15.11	Compound Verbs	407
15.11.1	Compounds formed with Roots	407
15.11.2	Compounds formed with Imp.Participle	409
15.11.3	Compounds formed with Perf.Participle	410
15.11.4	Compounds formed with Infinitive	410
15.11.5	Compounds formed with Aorist	412
15.11.6	Compounds formed with Noun & Adjective	412
15.12	Obsolete Verbs	413
CHAPTER 16.	INDECLINABLES	416
16.1	General Statement	416
16.2	Adverbs	416
16.2.1	Pronominal Adverbs	417
16.2.2	Nominal Adverb	424
16.2.3	Adverbs of Affirmation and Negation	426
16.2.4	Perso-Arabic Adverbs	427
16.2.5	Adverbial Phrases	429
16.3	Postpositions	431
16.3.1	Real Postpositions	431
16.3.2	Postposition used with or without <i>ka</i>	436
16.4	Conjunctions	437
16.5	Interjections	439
16.6	Emphatic Forms	439
A NOTE ON SYNTAX		441
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY		445

ABBREVIATIONS

Ab.	=	Ābrū (Shāh Mubārak Ābrū)
acc.	=	accusative
act.	=	active
Adj.	=	Adjective
Adv.	=	Adverb
AN.	=	<u>‘Ashūr Nāma</u>
Ap.	=	Apabhramśa
Ar.	=	Arabic
Arz.	=	Arzu (<u>Khan-e-Arzu</u>)
Bk	=	<u>Bikat Kabānī</u>
DA	=	<u>Diwān-e-Ābrū</u>
dat.	=	dative
DD	=	<u>Diwān-e-Dard (Diwān-e-Khwāja Mir Dard)</u>
Des.	=	Desi
DF	=	<u>Diwān-e-Fāiz</u>
Dir.	=	Direct
DOM	=	<u>Do Qadīm Masnaviyān (Urdū ki do Qadīm Masnaviyān)</u>
DSH	=	<u>Diwān-e-Shākir Nā‘ī</u>
Dz.	=	<u>Diwānsāda</u>
EMU	=	early Middle Urdu
Eng.	=	English
Fem.	=	feminine
Fg.	=	Fughān (Ashraf Ali Fughān)
Hin.	=	Hindī
Ht.	=	Hātim (Shāh Zuhūr-ud-Din Hātim)
IA	=	Indo-Aryan
JJ	=	Jān-e-Jānān (Mirzā Masher Jān-e-Jānān)
JS	=	<u>Jawāhar-e-Sukhan</u>
JZ	=	Jāfar Zata‘ī
KA	=	Karam-e-Allī
KB	=	<u>Khālīq Bārī</u>
KJZ	=	<u>Kulliyat-e-Jāfar Zata‘ī</u>
KK	=	<u>Karbal Kathā</u>
KM	=	<u>Kulliyāt-e-Mir</u>
KS	=	<u>Kalām-e-Saudā</u>
lit.	=	Literal, literally
LMU	=	late Middle Urdu.

XIV

mas.	=	masculine
MD	=	Mir Dard
MH	=	Mir Hasan
MIA	=	Middle Indo-Aryan
MR	=	<u>Marāsi-e-Bekhta</u>
MJk	=	<u>Mirzā Masbar Jān-e-Jān aur unkā Kalān</u>
MS	=	Manuscript
MSS	=	Manuscripts
MU	=	Middle Urdu
Mz.	=	Mazmūn (Sharf-ud-Dīn Mazmūn)
NA	=	<u>Nawādir-ul-Alfāz</u>
NIA	=	New Indo-Aryan
Nj.	=	Nājī (Muhammad Shākir Nājī)
Obl.	=	Oblique
OIA	=	Old Indo Aryan
OU	=	Old Urdu
Per.	=	Persian
Per-Ar	=	Persio-Arabic
Pr.	=	Prakrit
pl.	=	plural
Pref.	=	Preface
Qd	=	<u>Qase-e-Mehrafrōz-e-Dilbar</u>
Qr.	=	Qurbān (Qurbān 'Alī)
Qs.	=	Qasim
SB	=	<u>Shr-ul-Bayān</u>
Sd.	=	Saudā (Mirzā Muhammad Rāfi 'Saudā)
sg.	=	singular
Sk.	=	Sanskrit
Sl.	=	Salāh
Sz.	=	Soz (Mīr Soz)
tadbh	=	tadbhava
tats.	=	tatsama
Tur.	=	Turkish
Ur.	=	Urdu
Voc.	=	Vocative
Yk.	=	Yakrang (Mustafa Khan Yakrang)

TRANSCRIPTIONS

p	: Vl. bilabial stop = پ
ph	: Asp. vl. bilabial stop = پھ
b	: Vd. bilabial stop = ب
bh	: Asp. vd. bilabial stop = بھ
t	: Vl. alveolar stop = ت
th	: Asp. vl. alveolar stop = تھ
d	: Vd. alveolar stop = د
dh	: Asp. vd. alveolar stop = دھ
ʈ	: Vl. Retroflex stop = ʈ
ʈh	: Asp. vl. retroflex stop = ʈھ
ɖ	: Vd. retroflex stop = ɖ
ɖh	: Asp. vd. retroflex stop = ɖھ
c	: Vl. palatal stop = چ
ch	: Asp. vl. palatal stop = چھ
j	: Vd. palatal stop = ج
jh	: Asp. vd. palatal stop = جھ
k	: Vl. velar stop = ک
kh	: Asp. vl. velar stop = کھ
g	: Vd. velar stop = گ
gh	: Asp. vd. velar stop = گھ
q	: Vl. alveolar stop = ق
m	: Bilabial nasal = م
n	: Alveolar nasal = ن
ɳ	: Velar nasal = ڻ
l	: Alveolar lateral = ل
r	: Alveolar trill = ر
ɽ	: Retroflex flap = ɽ
ɽh	: Asp. retroflex flap = ɽھ
f	: Vl. labio-dental fricative = ف
s	: Vl. alveolar fricative = س
z	: Vd. alveolar fricative = ز
ʃ	: Vl. palato-alveolar fricative = ش
ʒ	: Vd. palato-alveolar fricative = ڙ

XVI

x	: Vl. velar fricative =	خ
ɣ	: Vd. velar fricative =	غ
h	: Vl. glottal fricative =	ه , ح
ʋ	: Labio-dental semi-vowel =	و , ڤ
y	: Palatal semi-vowel =	ي
ʕ	: Arabic	ث
ħ	: Arabic	ح
ʕ	: Arabic	ذ
ʕ	: Arabic	ص
ʕ	: Arabic	ض
t̪	: Arabic	ط
z̪	: Arabic	ظ
ʕ	: Arabic	ع
w	: Arabic	و
ṇ	: Sanskrit	ण
ṇ	: Sanskrit	ॠ
ṇ	: Sanskrit	ॡ
ḥ	: Sanskrit visarga (ḥ), placed after a vowel as	
ī	: High front =	ई
i	: High front (short) =	इ
e	: Mid front =	ए
a	: Mid central =	अ
ā	: Low central =	आ
ū	: High back =	ऊ
u	: High back (short) =	उ
o	: Mid back =	ओ
r̥	: Sanskrit	ॠ
ai	:	ऐ
au	:	औ
~	: nasalization	

PART I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN OF URDU

Like many other languages of North India, Urdu belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages, a sub-family of Indo-European. Like all other New Indo-Aryan languages, its development took place after 1000 A.D. which marks the end of the Apabhramśa period, the last stage of Middle Indo-Aryan.

Historically, the sources of Urdu may be traced back to Śaurasenī Apabhramśa which originated from Śaurasenī Prakrit, a form of speech that developed in the region of Madhya Desa (Midland) during the period of MIA. Sanskrit in the same region, flourished during the period of Old Indo-Aryan extending from 1500 to 500 B.C.

There were certain political, social and linguistic influences which favoured and prepared background for the evolution of Urdu in India. Its proper development started only when the Muslims entered Delhi from the Punjab in the year 1193 A.D. and made this city the capital of their empire.

From the linguistic point of view this was one of the most important political incidents in the history of India, since it accelerated the growth of the MIA languages in general and gave rise to the dialects of Western Hindi in particular. Delhi which is the meeting point of four dialects --- Haryānī, Khari Boli, Braj Bhāṣā and Dewātī (a dialect of

Rajasthānī), played the most significant role in the evolution of Urdu. These dialects, with the exception of Aewati, belong to Western Hindi which has directly descended from Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa. Its development had not taken place till the Muslim conquest of Delhi. Before the advent of Muslims, the language in use, in the royal courts of the Rajput kings, was modern form of Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa, more or less mixed with the local dialects.

In the evolution of Urdu the roles played by the two dialects of Western Hindi, viz., Haryanī and Kharī Bolī cannot be ignored. Prof. Jules Block (1880-1953) was also of the view that Haryanī had much contributed to the evolution of Urdu. Taking this into account, Prof. Masud Husain Khan (1919 ---) wrote his Muqaddama-e-Tārīkh-e-Zabān-e-Urdū¹ (Preface to the History of the Urdu Language) in which he emphasised that Old Urdu was based on the Haryanī dialect of Delhi, while Modern Urdu is standardised on the basis of the another Delhi dialect, known as Kharī Bolī.

The Muslims, before coming to Delhi in 1193 A.D. had stayed in the Punjab for about two centuries. This led the scholars like Mahamūd Shīrānī (1880-1946) to believe that the language we call Urdu originated in the Punjab and was carried to Delhi by the Muslim conquerors.² But the latest researches on the origin of Urdu have repudiated this view and a new

1. Ist ed. (Delhi, 1948).

2. Mahmūd Shīrānī, Panjab men Urdū (Lahore, 1928)

theory has been propounded that Urdu was born in and around Delhi under the influence of certain dialects spoken in these areas.³ There is no doubt that in its initial and formative stages, Urdu was much influenced by Panjabi language but the impact of Panjabi on Old Urdu can also be described as the impact of Haryani on it, since Panjabi and Haryani, in their initial stages were not too distinct to call them the two separate languages.⁴

Delhi, at the dawn of the Muslim rule, enjoyed the status of the military cantonment. Later on it became the centre of the literary and cultural activities. People from different dialect areas were attracted to this capital city. The Turkish, Persian and Panjabi speaking Muslim new comers, with Arabic as their religious language, mixed up with the local population and there established a "peaceful contact" between them. Out of this contact, there emerged a new and the mixed form of speech commonly used by the masses. During the course of its development in Northern India, it was known by different names such as "Hindī", "Hindwī", "Rekhta", "Zabān-e-Dehlawī", "Zabān-e-Urdū-e-Muallā", "Zabān-e-Urdū" and lastly simply "Urdū". Apart from being current in Delhi, it was carried to the different parts of the country by army personnels, court officials, traders and mainly by the Sufis. Due to the dominance of the Persian language in the offices and courts, Urdu, for a long period of time remained a neglected language in the north.

3. Masud Hussain Khan, Muqaddama-e-Tarikh-e-Zaban-e-Urdū, 3rd. ed. (Aligarh, 1958), p. 264.

4. Ibid., "Foreword", p.13.

Urdu was also taken to the south by the Muslims who after their one hundred year stay in Delhi, moved towards the Deccan and conquered Devagiri (Daulatabad) in 1295-96 A.D. under the leadership of 'Alauddin Khilji and his army general Malik Kafur. The proper development of Urdu in the south started after 1327 A.D., the year when Muhammad Bin Tughlaq shifted his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. This temporary shift of the capital was a blessing in disguise which paved the way for the development of Urdu in that part of the country. It is stated that the whole population of Delhi migrated to the south on the decree of the Emperor.

The people who went to the south carried with them the same form of speech which was spoken by the masses in Delhi. In the subsequent years this language came to be known as "Gujrī" or "Gūrī" in Gujrat and "Dakanī" or "Dakkhinī", "Zabān-e-Hindustān", "Hindī", "Hindwī", "Musalmānī" and "Turkā Mātā" in the Deccan. The Delhi-speech or "Zabān-e-Dehlawī" which went to the south had not yet reached the prime of its youth. Its linguistic features had not yet fully developed. It was still in the process of formation. After the Muslims had settled down in the Deccan and had established their empire, Urdu found the congenial atmosphere to flourish.

The proper and the systematic development of Urdu in the Deccan started only after the foundation of the Behmani kingdom in Gulberga in 1347 A.D. by Hasan Gangu Behmani. Before the

fall of the Behmani empire, Yusuf Adil Shah laid the foundation of the 'Adil Shahi kingdom in Bijapur in 1490 A.D. Another important kingdom was founded in Golkunda (Hyderabad) in 1512 A.D. by Sultan Qutb Shah. Besides 'Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi kingdoms, three more independent kingdoms were founded in the Deccan, viz., Nizam Shahi in Ahmad Nagar, Barid Shahi in Bidar and 'Imad Shahi in Berar.

In course of the time, Urdu was given due recognition by the Muslim kings of the Deccan. It was made the official and the court language of their kingdoms.⁵ Deccani rulers patronised this language generously and a few of them made it the vehicle of their poetic expressions. During the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th centuries Deccani Urdu produced a vast amount of literature in both prose and poetry, while North India remained almost the barren throughout this long period of four hundred years.

5. Muhammed Sādiq, A History of Urdu Literature, 1st ed. (London, 1964), p.45.

CHAPTER 2

URDU LANGUAGE IN ITS HISTORY

On the basis of works produced between 1000-1800 A.D., the history of the Urdu language for the purpose of its linguistic study may be conveniently divided into the following periods:-

1. Pre-Urdu Period : 1000 - 1200 A.D.
2. Old Urdu Period : 1200 - 1700 A.D.
3. Middle Urdu Period : 1700 - 1800 A.D.
 - (i) Early Middle Urdu Period : 1700 - 1750 A.D.
 - (ii) Late Middle Urdu Period : 1750 - 1800 A.D.
4. Modern Urdu Period : 1800 A.D. _____

1. Pre-Urdu Period (1000 - 1200 A.D.)

By 1000 A.D. the late MIA (Apabhramśa) stage came to an end and the process of the development of the MIA languages started in North India. The form of language which developed during 1000-1200 A.D. in North India especially in the courts of the Rajput Kings, before the Muslim conquest of Delhi, is termed as Pre-Urdu. It is neither Braj Bhasa, nor Khari Boli and nor even Haryani, since these dialects had not yet come into prominence.⁶ The language of this period is deeply influenced by the linguistic traditions of Late Apabhramśa (Avahattha). We may call this language as the "immediate predecessor" and partly the "ancestor" of Urdu (Hindustani).⁷

6. Masud Husain Khan, Muqaddima-e-Tarikh-e-Zaban-Urdu, p.114.

7. S.K. Chatterji, Indo-Aryan and Hindi, 2nd ed. (Calcutta, 1960).

During this period we have specimens of the religious writings attributed to Buddhist Siddhas, Nathas, Jainas and Gorakha Panthi Jogis. Though the authenticity of these works is much doubted, even they give the idea of the language current in North India during this period. These Siddhas and Jogis had spread from Gujrat and Braj (Mathura) upto Bihar. Their language, therefore, had come under the deep influence of different dialects. Rāma Chandra Shukla calls this mixed language as "Sadhukkarī".

The great Jaina scholar Hema Chandra (1088 - 1172) has preserved, in his grammar Hema Chandra Śabdāmūṣāsana, some of the literary specimens of Late Śaurasenī Apabhramṣa which give the idea to what extent the language of the period was approaching Urdu. Dr. S.K. Chatterji (1890 —) has quoted from Hema Chandra, five such specimens of which the first two are —

(1) bhalla hūa ju māriā, bahinī, mahārā kantu :

lajjejjan tu vaassiahu, jāi bhaggā gharu entu.

= bhala hua, bahan, jō mērā kant (=pyārā, swāmī, śauhar)

mārā : jō bhāgā ghar ātā, tō vayasyāō (=han-umr yā sama
vayaskā sahēliyō) mē (mujhē) laj ātī

(A Rajput woman says :)

'It is well, O sister, that my beloved was killed:
if he came home defeated (or fleeing), among friends
I would feel ashame.'

(2) jīviu kāsū na vallahau, dhanu punu kāsū na iṭṭhu ?
donni vi, avasari nivadiāī, tina - savā ganai visitṭhu.

[= jīv kīs-kā bālam (=pyārā) nahī ? dhan phin kis-kā īṭh
(= iṣṭa, man-māṅgā) nahī ? dōnō hī ausar nibarē sē (= jab in
dōnō kē mauqē ā parē), bisist (= šarīf ādmī) in dōnō kō tinkā-sā
ginē .] 'To whom is not life beloved ? To whom, again, is not
wealth a desired thing ? When the (proper) occasion arises
(lit. the occasion having fallen), the superior man considers
these two as straw.'⁸

The linguistic forms of the remaining three specimens
are given below :

(3) tujjhu > tujh (= terā) 'thy', muhu, mūh 'face'
mujjh > mujh (= merā) 'my', piu > piyā 'beloved'

(4) amhē > ham 'me', bahulā > bahut 'many', kaī > kitne
'how many', jana > jan 'man'

(5) kavanu, kaun 'what', gumu > gun 'good', muēna, nuwā
(= marā) 'is dead', bāppikkī > bāpkī 'father's'.

During this period there were two other forms of the
language known as Diṅgala and Piṅgala. Some more specimens of
the language of the pre-Muslim period can be seen in the
longish poems of these days known as Rāsos, written in the
dialects of Diṅgala and Piṅgala. Diṅgala is the literary
form of Mārvarī, the principal dialect of Rājasthānī.⁹ It was
used for bardic poetry. Piṅgala was the form of language mixed

8. Ibid., p. 183.

9. B.N. Tiwari, Hindī Bhāṣā, (Allahabad, 1966) p. 310.

with early western Hindi, Śauraseni Apabrahṃṣa and Rajasthani dialects and early Panjabi features here and there. It became current in Rajput poetry after 1200 A.D.¹⁰ It had no deep affinity with Braj that old Braj Bhasa itself was called Pīṅgala.

The important poets of these language forms are Karpātī Nalha, the author of Bisala Deva Ras, Chanda Bradai, the author of Prithiviraja Ras, Surajamala, Isaradasa, Bankidasa etc.

The authenticity of the language of Prithiviraja Ras has much been questioned by the scholars. The linguistic evidences reveal the fact that at least the last portions of this poem were certainly composed during the 16th century and not in the 12th century A.D. when its author Chanda Bradai lived.

Among the Muslims, Masūd 'ad Salīmān (d. sometime between 1125 and 1130 A.D.) was the first author who besides writing in Turkish, Arabic and Persian also wrote in "Hindui" (Urdu).¹¹ But the specimen of his Hindi Poetry is not available. It is not known what kind of dialect exactly his "Hindi" was, but it according to Dr. S.K. Chatterji it was the common literary Apabrahṃṣa current in the 12th century than anything like Braj Bhāṣā or later Hindostani. According to Shaukat Sabzwari if his Hindi work is discovered it would not serve our purpose since it might have been written either in Apabrahṃṣa of the Punjab or in Sanskrit which like Persian, was the language of

10. S.K. Chatterji, Indo-Aryan and Hindi, p. 196.

11. Muhammad 'Aufī, Labab-ul-Albab, Vol.II. edited by Edward G. Browne, p. 246.

literary pursuits during the period of Mahmud Ghaznawi.¹²

The linguistic forms developed in this period and adopted by Urdu in subsequent periods with certain modification, are discussed below.

1. In the specimens quoted in Hema Chandra Śabdāmśāsana, the nouns, adjectives and verbs end with -ā. This is also one of the important features of Urdu. The examples are :

bhallā > Ur. bhālā 'well'

mahārā > Ur. merā 'my'

nīcā > Ur. nīcā 'down'

2. In Raso the present tense is formed by suffixing the form /-at/ to the root, e.g., /sunat/ in /so hāu sabai sunata nū āta/¹³ 'mother ! I listen all that.' In Bikat Kahani too we find such forms, e.g., /karat hai/ 'works' /bharat hai/ 'fills' (p.39); /calat hai/ 'walks' /jalat hai/ 'burns' (p.61), etc.

3. The past indefinite tense is formed by suffixing /-iyā/ or /-yā/ to the root. The examples are /rahya/¹⁴ 'remained' in Gorakhnatha and /miliyā/¹⁵ 'got' in Carapatanath.

4. The Urdu pronouns like māi, ham, tum, mai, tu, vah (voh), mera, mare, ap, apne, ie, un, us etc. had already developed during 1000-1200 A.D.¹⁶

5. Urdu genitives kā, kī, ka have been found in Prithviraja Raso and Paramara Raso.¹⁷

12. Shaukat Sabzwari, Dastān-e-Zabān-e-Urdū (Delhi) p.200

13. Quoted in Ibid. p.106

14 & 15. Quoted in Brajratna Dasa, Khari Boli Hindi Sahitya ka Itihāsa, 2nd. ed. (Benaras) pp.57-58

16. Ibid., pp. 48-62.

17. Ibid.

6. The particles like paī (pe) ma, naī also occur in the above works.

This study shows that the language spoken in 11th and 12th centuries in North India was not very different from the language which evolved in and around Delhi during the 13th century and was taken to the Deccan during the 14th century.

2. Old Urdu Period (1200-1700)

The emergence of Urdu as a distinct language in the north took place only after 1193 A.D., the year of the Muslim conquest of Delhi.¹⁸ A century later, as the result of certain political events, the same language was transplanted to the Deccan where it developed independently till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. The literature produced during the period 1200-1700 A.D. in North India and in the Deccan, forms the study of Old Urdu. The early Old Urdu period is quite barren. Unfortunately there are no connected specimens of the language which developed in Northern India during the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centuries whereas the same language produced a vast amount of literature when it developed in the

18. Masud Hussain Khan, "Dakanī yā Urdū-e-Qadīm", Sher-e-Zabān (Hyderabad, 1966). p. 187.

Deccan during these centuries.¹⁹ The early traces of Urdu in Northern India can be found in the words and phrases uttered by the Muslim Sufis like Baba Farid Ganj Shakar (1173-1266), Shaikh Hamid-ud-din Nagori (1193-1274) Shaikh Bahauddin Bajan (1388-1506), Shaikh 'Abdul Quddus Gangohi (1455-1538) and many others. The scanty utterances of these Sufis are scattered in different taskiras. Maulawi 'Abdul Haq (1870-1961) has collected them in the form of the book.²⁰

Two Sabads attributed to Baba Farid Ganj Shakar have been included in Adi Granth of the Sikhs, but the authenticity of their language is much doubted. Some of the Urdu phrases and sentences ascribed to him are: xoīā bālā hai²¹, ponō kē cāñ bhī bālā hai²², āk̄h āī hai²³ etc.

19. Some of the Old Dekani writers and their works are :-
Khwaja Banda Nawas Gesudaraz (1322-1423); Morāī-ul-Ashiqān, Shikar Nāmā; Shah Miranji Shams-ul-Ushshiq (d. 1497); Khush Nāmā, Shahādāt-ul-Haqāiq; Nizami Bidari; Padam Rao Kadam Rao (1421-35); Ashraf Bayabani; Nasir Nār (1503-4), Shah Burhawuddin Janam (1479-1983). Ishād Nāmā (1582), Kalimat-ul-Haqāeq; Piroz Bidari; Pirāt Nāmā (1564); Muhammad Quli Qutb (1581-1611); Mulliyat-e-Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh (before 1611); ulla Wajha; Sab Rao (1635), Qutb Khashtari (1606). Abdul Dehlawi; Ibrahim Nāmā (1612); Ibrahim Adil Shah II (d. 1627) Ghauvasi (d. 150); Tūfī Nāmā; Saif-ul-Mulūk-e-Badi-ul-Jamal; Nusrati; Ali Nāmā (1666), Gulshan-e-Ishq (1658); Ibn-e-Nishātī (1610-1660); Phul Bān; Qasi Mahmud Bahri; Man Lagan (1700); Rajdi; Tohfa-e-Ashiqan (1704), Panchī Nāmā (1719) Wali (1667-1741).

20. Urdu ki Ibtidāi Nashv-e-Munā men Sufiyā-e-Karām kā Kām, (Aligarh).

21. Quoted in ibid., p.10.

22. Quoted in ibid., p.11

23. Quoted in Mahmūd Shīrānī, Panjāb men Urdu, p.256.

Amīr Khusrāu (1253-1325) is the first major poet of early Urdu (Hindi) who wrote his poems and riddles in Zaban-e-Dehlawi (Delhi-speech). His works would have formed some of the oldest specimens of Urdu had there been no modifications in the language of the received texts during the course of the centuries. It has also been proved that some of the riddles ascribed to him are not his own compositions.

Some of the specimens of Old Urdu can also be found in words and phrases scattered in the Persian works on history written during the period. Certain fragments of the early Urdu conversations feature in the works like Tārīkh-e-Fīroz Shāhī, Tārīkh-e-Humayūnī, Tārīkh-e-Dāūdī, Tārīkh-e-Jahāngīrī etc. Urdu words also occur in the travels of Ibn-e-Batuta written in Arabic. There is much doubt about the authenticity of the Sufistic works and utterances. Similarly the lyrics, distichs and riddles traditionally attributed to Amīr Khusrāu have been modified during the course of centuries and obviously it is dangerous to depend too far on them.

It is in the beginning of the 17th century, that Urdu received any genuine literary cultivation in the north. During the first quarter of the 17th century Muhammad Afzal (d.1625 AD.) wrote his Bikāt Kahānī (BK)²⁴ which, undoubtedly, is the first authentic work of poetry ever produced in Northern India.

Another important work of this century is ‘Āshūr Nāmā (AN)²⁵,

24. Edited by Nur-u-Hasan Hashimi and Masud Husain Khan (Hyderabad, 1965) 2nd ed. (Lucknow, 1970).

25. Edited by Masud Husain Khan and Sifarish Hussain Rizwi, 1st ed. (Aligarh, 1972).

a 3,544 line long elegiac and narrative poem written by Raushan Ali in the year 1688. Prof. Masud Hasan Rizwi Adib (1894 --) has collected about 150 Urdu marasias²⁶ (mourning - songs) known as Marāsi-e-Hakhtā (MR), written by different poets of North India like Salah, Qurban Ali Qasim etc., during the end of the 17th century. The last important work belonging to this century is an elegiac poem known as Hafat Nāmā-Bibi Fatima written by Ismail Anrohi (d. 1711) in the year 1693. His another work is Hulīya-e-Anār written in 1708. Both the works are available in the form of a book, viz., Urdu kī Do Adān Maṣnawiyān (DM)²⁷, Besides them, Kutub Shatah²⁸ Khālīq Bārī (K.)²⁹ by Ziauddin Khusrāu, and Pem Prakāś³⁰ by Barkatullah Pemī are some other works of the 17th century which deserve mention.

As has been said earlier, the evolution of the language we call Urdu started since 13th century, though it was already there in different form and shape before the beginning of this century. The dialects of the Delhi area such as Haryani, Khari Boli and Kewati made significant contributions to its origin and development, Urdu was enriched by the Perso-Arabic elements during the subsequent periods. Early written records of Old Urdu as we have seen, comprise the "Hindi" poetry of Khusrāu which is unauthentic and the words and phrases uttered by the Sufis which are inadequate. These materials cannot be used

26. Unpublished.

27. Edited by Naib-e-Husain Naqwi, (Lucknow, 1970).

28. Edited by Mata Prasad Gupta.

29. Edited by Mahmud Shirani, 1st ed. (Delhi, 1944).

30. Edited by Pandit Lachmi Dhara, (Delhi).

for linguistic analysis of Old Urdu. The connected specimens of Old Urdu have been found in the Deccan from the beginning of the 15th century. In north India the literary traditions start from the 17th century.

On the basis of the written records, the following linguistic features of Old Urdu (including Dakani Urdu) have been determined. Some of these features have also been discussed by Dr. Syed Muhy-ud-Din Qadiri Zor.³¹ Prof. Masud Husain Khan³² and Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari.³³

(a) Phonological:

1. In Old Urdu sometimes the long vowels are reduced to short vowels, e.g., asman (āsmān) 'sky', admi (ādmī) 'man', ākhi (ākh) 'eye', bhigna (bhīgna) 'to get wet', sughna (sūghnā) 'to smell' etc.

2. Nasalization of vowels is another important feature of Old Urdu. The examples are: dahi (dahī) 'curd', caval (caval) 'rice', mitti (mittī) 'earth', ghas (ghās) 'grass', hāspā (hāspā) 'to laugh', tū (tū) 'thou', kū (ko) 'to' etc. This feature is found even today in Delhi and its neighbouring areas.

3. Consonantal gemination is also one of the important features of Old Urdu in which sometimes non-initial single consonants are doubled. It is the common feature of Panjabi.

31. Hindustani Lisanayat (Lucknow, 1960), pp. 105-16.

32. "Urdu Zaban Ki Ibtida aur Irtqa ka Masala", the

Fikro-Nazar, Vol. 9, No.3 (Aligarh, 1969), pp. 16-21

33. Dastan-e-Zaban-e-Urdu, pp.182-85.

But it is also found in Khari Boli and Haryani. The examples are: sabb (sab) 'all', abb (ab) 'now', tumm (tum 'you, assārḥ (asārḥ) 'name of a month', haṭṭhī (hāthī) 'elephant', cunnā (cūnā) 'lime', siffat (sifat) 'quality', hadd (had) 'limit' etc.

4. Deaspiration or absence of aspiration can also be noted in Old Urdu pronunciation. According to Dr. S.K. Chatterji (1890--) all NIA languages obtained the deaspirated forms from MIA³⁴. G.V. Tagore holds the view that the process of deaspiration was accelerated in the post Apabhraṃśa period³⁵. According to Prof. Masud Husain Khan this feature came to Urdu through Khari Boli and Haryani. The examples are:

būdnā (bādhnā) 'to tie', sīrī (sirhi) 'ladder' sāthī (sāthī) 'companion', kuc (kuch) 'some', muī (mujh) 'me' dūd (dūdh) 'milk', sāt (sāth) 'with' etc.

5. Loss of intervocalic /-h-/ is also a phonological feature of Old Urdu. It is predominantly found in 'Kabūr Nāma and Do Qadīm Maṣnaviyān. Some of the examples are: ka (kaha) 'said', sipāī (sipahi) 'soldier', naī (nahī) 'no, not' etc.

6. Syncopated aspiration or aspiration through metathesis is also one of the features of Old Urdu. This kind of aspiration results from the transposition of the sound /-h-/ to some other sound. The examples are, -- bhaui (bahut) 'very',

34. The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Pt. I, 2nd ed. (London, 1970, p. 444.

35. Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa, 1st ed. (Poona, 1948), p. 70.

yā (yāhā) 'here', khandā (kandh) 'shoulder', bhaiyā (bahiyā) 'arms', mhū (mūh) 'face', dokhā (dhokā) 'guile', phar (parh) 'read' etc.

7. As opposed to nasalization, denasalization is another important feature of Old Urdu. Numerous examples of the loss of nasalization are found in the text written during the Old Urdu period. A few examples are - mā (mā) 'mother', dono (donō) 'both', kuvā (kūwā) 'well' etc.

8. In Old Urdu sometimes double consonants are simplified to a single consonant with or without compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g., sacā (saccā) 'true' makār (makkār) 'deceitful', satar (sattar) 'seventy' qissā (qissā) 'story', kacī (kaccī) 'unripe' etc.

9. The words of Sanskrit origin having the CCV and VCC structures invariably break up their consonant sequences in Old Urdu. Sometime the consonant clusters of Perso-Arabic words are also broken up. This tendency is found most predominantly in Āshūr Nāma. The examples from the various texts are: mārag (mārga) 'path', jatan (yatna), 'care', pardes (pradeśa) 'foreign country', mūrakh (mūrkhā) 'stupid', janam (janma) 'birth', zulam (zulm), 'tyranny', sabar (sabr) 'patience', nazam (nazm) 'poem', aqal (aql) 'intelligence', ilam (ilm) 'knowledge' etc.

10. A very interesting phonological feature of Old Urdu is the replacement of the sound q by x. Prof. Masud Husain

Khan rejects the hypothesis that this feature is found only in Dakani Urdu. According to him in some of the words it is heard even today in the dialects around Delhi, e.g., sandūx (sandūq) 'box', bandūx (bandūq) 'gun', masāx (masāq) 'humour' etc.

In the Deccan the early evidence of this feature is recorded in Najhi's Lath-Mushtari where aqī 'intelligence' is written as axal. In Northern India its oldest written evidence is found in Lissa-e-Mehraiz-e-Dilbar where the word masāq 'humour' is always written as masāx. The word masāx also occurs in Divan-e-Abdu.

(b) Grammatical :

1. One of the grammatical features of Old Urdu is the formation of plurals. In Old Urdu the plural is formed by adding the suffix /-ā̃/. The examples : bātā̃ 'talks', logā̃ 'men', dukānā̃ 'shops', kitābā̃ 'books' etc. Apart from Dakani texts, this feature is also found in Bikāṭ Kabānī, Do Qadīm Masnaviyān and 'Ashūr Nāma and even in Karbāl Kathā. According to Mahmūd Shirānī this feature has come from Panjabi but according to Prof. Masūd Husain Khan this can also be derived from the Haryānī dialect. Unlike /-ā̃/, the plural in Old Urdu is also formed by adding the suffix /-ō̃/. Its examples are found almost in every text of Old Urdu. In these texts the plural is also formed, as in Braj Bhasā, by suffixing /-an/. But such examples are not

many. In Bikat Kahānī we find the words like pagan 'steps' etc.

In Ashraf Bayabani's Nausar Hār we find all the three types of plural.

2. In Old Urdu the past indefinite is formed by adding /-yā/ to the verb root, e.g., calyā 'went' hāsyā 'laughed', sunyā 'hear', parhyā 'read', bolayā 'said', dekhayā 'saw' etc. Its evidence is found in the texts written in the Deccan and North India both. It appears in Mērāī-ul-Āshiqān, Nausar Hār, Ibrahim Nama as well as in Kutub Shatak, Bikat Kahani, Do Qadīm Masnaviyan etc. According to Mahmud Shirani this feature is also from Panjabi, but Prof. Masud Hussain Khan has traced it to Haryani.

3. In Old Urdu of the Deccan the verb is governed by the subject. The examples are larkā rotī khāyā 'the boy ate the bread', larka rotī khāe 'boys ate the bread', larkī rotī khāī 'the girl ate the bread'.

4. In Old Urdu if the noun is feminine plural, the verb, adjective and particle are also used as plural. The following examples are from Mērāī-ul-Āshiqān : merāī kiyā nīāniyā, bātā allāh kiyā, meriyā bātā etc. such examples are also found in Karbal Katha, "Foreword", p. 43.

5. /-c/ emphatic is a peculiar feature of Old Dakani which is also found at few places in Do Qadīm Masnaviyan e.g... uāī kāc nām (p. 109)

6. In Old Urdu (of the Deccan), apart from the forms like ga, gi, ge, the future tense is formed by si su, se si etc. Examples are: tū la si 'you will bring', tū kah se 'you will say' mai na a su 'I will not come.'

3. Middle Urdu Period (1700-1800 A.D.)

By the close of the 17th century, the Muslim states of the Deccan like Bijapur and Golkunda were annexed to the Mughal empire. After the death of Aurangzeb⁹ in 1707, there established the deep contact between the south and the north and the Urdu language which had, in the Deccan, quite a flourishing literary career for three centuries (15th - 17th c.) merged into Northern Urdu. Due to the dominance of the Persian language Urdu remained merely a spoken language for a long period of time in North India and was considered unworthy for the dignity of poetry. It is because of this fact that the elevation of Urdu to the position of a literary language was much delayed in this part of the country.

With the death of Aurangzeb⁹, there starts the decline and fall of the Mughal empire which coincides with the rise and development of Urdu as a literary language. It was also the time of the decline of Persian in India. When the Persian poetry had fallen into decadence, the Persian poets switched over from Persian to Urdu and thus Urdu began to make headway as a literary language, and even then its rehabilitation was slow

and grudging.³⁶ It is at this juncture that Wali (1667-1717) paid his visit to Delhi in 1700. The people of Delhi were struck with admiration, because here was a poet, they must have said, who was using their own language for the high purposes of art.

Wali's visit to Delhi, and the subsequent arrival of his diwān there, took the literary world by surprise and created a sensation. His diwān was well received by the advocates of Urdu and his poems were recited in streets and musical assemblies and the poets began to envisage the possibilities of compiling diwans in Urdu. The literary excitement marks the beginning of a literary revolution.³⁷

(1) Early Middle Urdu (1700-1750 A.D.)

Wali's visit to Delhi had a profound effect on the literary atmosphere of this city. Among his contemporary poets like Asadullah Khan Umūd, Sulaiman Quli Khan Daud, Shaikh Sa'dullah Gulshan, Murtaza Quli Khan Firaq, Mu'iz-u-Din Fitrāt and Mirza 'Abdul Qadir Bedil who were primarily the Persian poets also began to write in Urdu. Though they did not take Urdu poetry seriously, but a revolutionary tendency in favour of Urdu started and gradually began to take shape.

Besides them, in the beginning of the 18th century, we come across with the poets like Mir Jafar Zata'li³⁸ (d. 1713),

36. Muhammad Sadiq, A History of Urdu Literature, p.42

37. Ibid., p. 61.

38. Naim Ahmad, "Mir Jafar Zata'li - Ek Mutatia", the Tahrir, Vol. I, No.2 (Delhi, 1967), pp. 249-276.

mainly a satirist poet writing on his contemporaries and contemporary problems, sometimes in a vulgar style. Mir Jafar has left his Kulliyāt (KJZ). The most important and the major poet of the early 18th century is Faiz Dehlawi who compiled his dīwān (DF)³⁹ in 1717. The first prose specimen of North India is Karbal Katha (KK)⁴⁰ by Fazl-e-Ali Fazli. Karbal Katha was completed in 1732-33. It is the translation of the Persian prose work Kausat-ush-Shuhadā of Mullā Husain waiz Kāshfī. Before Karbal Katha not even a single prose piece of Urdu has been found in the North.⁴¹ According to its editors⁴² it is not the literal translation of the Persian work. What Fazli did is to transfer the sense from one language into another. In doing so he made additions and modifications wherever he found necessary. Thus it would be better to call it Fazli's own writing. After Karbal Katha, another important prose work of this period is Qissa-e-Mehrafrōz-o-Dibār (QMD)⁴³ written during 1732-59 by 'Iswī Khān Bahādur. During this period we have also a number of salāms and marṣiyās composed by Karam-e-Ali⁴⁴, the younger brother of Fazli.

39. Edited by Masud Hasan Rizwi Adib, 1st ed. (1946), 2nd ed. (Aligarh, 1965).

40. Edited by Malik Ram and Mukhtar-ud-Din Ahmad, 1st ed. (Patna, 1965).

41. Khwaja Syed Ashraf Samnani is said to have written a treatise in Urdu prose on the theme of mysticism in 1308 A.D., but this work is not available anywhere in world.

42. Malik Ram and Mukhtar-ud-Din Ahmad.

43. Edited by Masud Husain Khan, 1st ed. (Hyderabad, 1966).

44. Masud Hasan Rizwi Adib, "Karam-e-Ali, Marṣiya-Go" the Tahrir, Vol. I, No. I (Delhi, 1967) pp. 5-14.

At this point the great scholar Khan-e-Arzu (1689-1756) and his famous lexicon, Navādir-ul-Alfāz (NA)⁴⁵ also deserve mention. This work is the correction of Mir Abd-ul-Wase Hansvi's Gharāib-ul-Lughāt and reflects the changes in the Urdu language towards the early parts of the 18th century.

Apart from these writers, there appeared, during the same period, another group of poets known as ihāmist or poets of the ihām⁴⁶ school. This school is represented by the poets like Shah Subarak Abru⁴⁷ (1692-1747), Sharf-ud-din Nazmun (d. about 1745), Muhammad Shakir Naji⁴⁸ (d. 1754), Mustafa Khan Yakrang, Ashraf Ali Fughan⁴⁹ (d. 1772) and Shah Zahur-ud-Din Hatim (1699-1781). Of these poets Abru is considered to be the leader of the ihāmist. Hatim at the age of fifty eight (in 1757) made a selection from his larger Diwān, which, in regard to its size, he named Diwānzāda (DZ).⁵⁰

45. Edited by Dr. Syed Abdullah (Karachi, 1951).

46. "Ihām is a well known figure in Persian poetry and depends on the employment in a verse of two or more ambiguous terms, which, from their juxtaposition, appear to be used in one sense, while they are really intended in the other.. The reader, misled by the juxtaposition of these words, imagines at first sight that the former meaning of each is intended, while in reality it is the latter."

47. (Muhammad Sadiq, A History of Urdu Literature p.75).

47. Diwan-e-Abru (DA), edited by Muhammad Hasan (Aligarh)

48. Diwan-e-Shakir Najī (DSN), edited by Fazl-ul-Haq (Delhi, 1968).

49. Diwan-e-Fughan (DF), edited by Sabab-ud-Din Abd-ur-Rahman (Karachi, 1950).

50. Preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, in the form of MS.

During the early Middle Urdu period Mirza Jan Janan⁵¹ (1700 - 1781) was the first poet who revolted against ihām and made a departure from this practice. He brought certain reforms to the Urdu poetry and advocated the use of Urdū-e-Iuallā. Hatim who was, once upon a time, the leader of the ihām movement, also discarded it under the influence of Mirza Nazhar. When he compiled his Dīwān-sāda, he excised a large number of poems representing the ihām ideal.

In the beginning of the 18th century when there established a close contact between the south and the north, a number of poets and their works came to Delhi. Encouraged and inspired by them, the poets of Delhi began to write poetry on the lines of Dakani Urdu which was different from the language current in Delhi. Mirza Nazhar and Shah Hatim discarded the Dakani elements and tried to bring it closer to the Delhi-speech. In this way the process of the purification of Urdu started and continued till the age of Nāsikh of Lucknow.

There was now a reaction in favour of Persian, and the spellings like تبی /tasbī/, صحی /sahī/, بگانہ /bigānā/, دوانہ /divānā/ etc. were discarded as incorrect and the original Persian spellings - تبیح ، صحیح ، دیوانہ ، بیگانہ etc. were restored respectively. A similar change was also seen in the substitution of ادھر /udhar/ for ادھر /ūdhar/, کدھر /kidhar/ for کیدھر /kīdhar/, ے /ee/ for یتی /eti/ etc. Braj Bhasa was also discarded and

51. Mirza Nazhar Jan Janan aur Unke Urdu Kalam (AAJK), edited by Abd-ul-Karīm Qureshi (Bombay, 1961).

purely Hindi words in origin like نہن /nayan/ 'eye', جگ /jag/ 'world', نت /nit/ 'daily', درش /darsan/ 'looking' etc. were disused. The foreword⁵² to Dīwān-sāda is the most authentic record of the changes that were taking place in Urdu towards the Middle of the 18th century.

(11) Late Middle Urdu Period (1750-1800 A.D.)

During the second half of the 18th century, there appeared, on the literary scene, another group of poets that was "the first to establish the prestige of poetry" and to widen its scope. With this we enter on a different stage in the development of poetry as well as language. By this time a marked historical change had taken place in the structure of the Urdu language. It had passed through the formative or Old stage to the early and late middle stage and was ushering in, by 1800 A.D. the modern stage of the language. This period is mostly represented by the poets like Mirzā Muhammad Rafī' Sauda⁵³ (1713-1780), Mir Taqī Mir⁵⁴ (1722-1810) Mir Dard⁵⁵ (1719-1785), Mir Hasan (1727-1786). Mir Sox (1720-1798) etc.

Some of the linguistic features of the late Middle Urdu period are discussed below:

1. There is no shortening of vowels in this period, but in certain words, sometimes the short vowels are lengthened. The examples are, jāgah (jagah) 'place', lohū (lahū) 'blood', lāgā (lagā) 'attached', kīdhar (kidhar) 'where' etc.

52. Quoted in Sayed Muhy-ud-Din Qadiri Por. Hindustani Lisanivat, pp. 124-25.

53. Kalan-e-Sauda (KS), edited by Dr. Khurshid-ul-Islam, 1st ed. (Aligarh, 1964).

54. Mulliyat-e-Mir (MM), edited by Zill-e-Abbasi, 1st ed. (Delhi, 1968).

55. Diwan-e-Mir Dard (DD), edited by Zahir Ahmad Siddiqi, 3rd. (Delhi, 1971).

2. The nasalization and denasalization of vowels is almost lost. In Old Urdu the word final long vowels /ī ē ū / were invariably nasalized / ā o / were also nasalized. In early Middle Urdu period nasalization was restricted to /ī ē ū / in the words like gā 'from', nā 'agentive marker' tū 'thou' kū 'to' etc. In late Middle Urdu period the nasalization was almost completely lost. In this period ga was used gā, na for nā, ko for kū, tū for tū etc.

3. The Old Urdu form taw lag 'till' was changed into tab lag and afterwards tablaḡ. In late Middle Urdu it was changed into talak and tek. Both these forms have been equally used by the poets like Mir, Sauda and Dard.

4. In Old Urdu, (especially in Dakani Urdu), the past indefinite tense was formed by suffixing the form /-yā/ to the verb root, e.g., bolyā 'said', calyā 'walked' etc. This feature completely disappeared in Middle Urdu.

5. In late Middle Urdu the first person pronoun is not necessarily followed by the agentive marker /ne/, when it is used with the transitive verb, e.g. mai kahā 'I said', mai dekha 'I saw', mai sunā 'I heard', etc. is very ^{common} in this period even in Mir and Sauda.

6. The present indefinite tense is sometimes formed by adding the present tense auxiliaries hai, hū, hai, ho to the aorist of a verb, as pūcho ho '(you) ask', aa hai '(he) comes' kehe hai '(they) say', jāne hai '(he) knows', mārū hū '(I) beat' etc.

7. The feminine plural verb indicating the past indefinite tense is sometimes formed by adding /-yā/ to the verb root, as calyā for calī 'went', dekhyā for dekhi 'saw', etc. If the root ends with a vowel, the tense is formed by adding /-iyā/, as aiyā for āī 'came' etc.

8. Similarly the feminine plural verb for the present indefinite tense is sometimes formed by adding /-tiyā/ + present tense auxiliary to the verb root. The examples are: ātiyā hai 'come', tarastiya hai 'long', rahtiya hai 'live' etc.

9. Sometimes the plural is formed by adding /-ā/ to the noun. But it is strictly restricted to the words of Perso-Arabic origin. The examples are, butā 'idols', yārā 'friends' mahbūbā 'beloveds' āsīyā 'lovers' etc.

10. In late Middle Urdu setī and setī were reduced to se 'from, by, with.'

11. When the feminine noun is used as plural to represent the "Head", its "Attribute" is sometimes also plural, e.g., karīā sātē 'hard moments', bhāriyā bhāriyā 'heavy iron fetters' etc.

12. The pronouns like unhō, inhō, jinhō and kinhō are used in oblique case and un, in, jin, and kin are used with agentive marker se.

13. The words like tuk 'just, short time', nit 'always', tanik 'a little', thāō 'place', nagar 'city', mukh 'mouth' bās 'smell' were current in the Middle Urdu period but became obsolete in Modern Urdu.

CHAPTER 3

DIALECTS INFLUENCING URDU

Urdu, during the course of its development, has been influenced mainly by three dialects, viz., Haryanī, Kharī Bolī and Braj Bhāṣā. They have influenced Urdu in different times and in different situations. George A. Grierson⁵⁶ (1851-1941) has grouped these dialects into Western Hindi which is directly related to Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa. Besides them Urdu has also been influenced by Mewatī, a north-western dialect of Rajasthanī. According to the scholars like Mahmud Sheranī⁵⁷ and T.G. Bailey⁵⁸ there is a marked influence of the Panjabi language on Urdu (Old Dakani Urdu), since, as they believe, Urdu originated in the Punjab. This view has been challenged by Prof. Masud Husain Khan⁵⁹ who maintains that Urdu is based and standardised on two dialects of Delhi area known as Haryanī and Kharī Bolī.

As it has been pointed out, Delhi is situated at the meeting point of the four dialects, viz., Kharī Bolī, Haryanī, Braj Bhāṣā and Mewatī. Kharī Bolī is spoken in the north-western side of Delhi, across the river Yamuna. On its north-western side this city is surrounded by Haryanī. The Mewatī

56. Linguistic Survey of India, pt.I, Vol.I, p.162.

57. Panjab and Urdu (Lahore, 1928).

58. Urdu Literature, The Heritage of India Series (London, 1952).

59. (i) Muqaddama-e-Tarikh-e-Zaban-e-Urdu, 3rd ed. (Aligarh, 1958).

(ii) "Urdu Zaban ki Ibtila aur Irtqa ka Masala", the Fikr-o-Nazar, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Aligarh, 1969), pp. 7-21.

(iii) "Some Observations on the Origin of Urdu Language", the Pakha Sanjam, Vol.VI (Patiala, 1973).

dialect is found in the south-west of Delhi. On its south-east, there lies the area of Braj Bhāṣā with Mathura its centre.

Of the dialects of Delhi area, Haryani is the one which has deeply influenced Urdu in its initial and formative stage. Urdu, first of all, came directly under the influence of this dialect. The influence of Haryani on Urdu was first noticed by Jules Bloch.⁶⁰ (1880-1953) Later on Dr. S. I. Qadiri 'Zore'⁶¹ emphasised the impact of Haryani on Urdu. Prof. Masud Husain Khan⁶² with the help of sufficient data worked out its possibilities and proved that Old Urdu was based on the Haryani dialect of the Delhi area and not on Panjabi.

When the Muslims came from the Punjab, besides other dialects, the older form of Haryani was also current in Delhi and its neighbouring areas. Since its phonological, morphological and syntactic patterns were closely related to Panjabi, the Panjabi speaking new-comers picked up this language very easily and influenced it with their own Panjabi linguistic habits. The same Haryani mixed speech was carried to the south where it developed independently to its full stature. Early influences of the Haryani dialect on Urdu can be seen in the texts written in the Deccan.

60. Maqaddama-e-Tārikh-e-Zabān-e-Urdū, p. 242.

61. Hindustānī Lisāniyāt, pp. 96-97.

62. Maqaddama-e-Tārikh-e-Zabān-e-Urdū, pp. 205-50.

Another reason for the influence of Haryani on Urdu is that in the armies of the Muslim rulers of Delhi, the soldiers recruited were mostly from Haryana and Haryani was the dominating language in the bazars of Delhi. Wherever these soldiers and traders went, they left out the marks of their language. This is the reason why the Urdu which developed in the Deccan is deeply influenced by Haryani.

In Khair-ul-Majalis whose author Raushan Charagh Dehlawi died in 1356 A.D., there appear certain Urdu phrases which show the marked impression of the Haryani dialect. In the phrases like yeh badā hōsī⁶³ and tu merā guasāī tū merā kartār, muñh is tūp the chudā⁶⁴, the occurrences of ai for ga 'future tense marker', badā for barā 'big', the for se 'from' and chudā for churā 'recover' clearly show the impact of Haryani on Old Urdu. These forms are also found in Dakani Urdu which came in the direct contact with Haryani during the early stages of its development.

The works of certain Haryani authors like Shaikh 'Abdullah Ansari, Shaikh Mehbub 'Alam, Shaikh 'Abdi, Akram Rohtaki, Shah 'Abdul Hakim, Shah Ghulam Jilani Rohtaki etc., mentioned by Mahmud Shirani⁶⁵ also show the deep amalgamation of Haryani elements into Urdu. Mir 'Abdul Wasir's Gharab-ul-Lughat, a lexicon, is

63. Quoted in Masud Husain Khan, Maqaddama-e-Tarikh-e-Zaban-e-Urdu, p.135.

64. Quoted in Ibid., p. 137.

65. (1) Panjab men Urdu.

(11) "Urdu ki Shakh Haryani", the Oriental College Magazine (Lahore, 1931-32).

another important work that shows the close affinity of Haryani with Old Urdu.

Some of the linguistic features which Old Urdu derived from the Haryani dialect are discussed below :

(a) Phonological

1. In Haryani /d/ or /dh/ is used for /r/ or /rh/. In Old Urdu too we find /d/ or /dh/ in the place of /r/ or /rh/. The examples are ed for er 'spur' in 'Āshūr Nāma (p.181), būdhā for būrhā 'old' in Karbāl Kathā (p.250) etc.

2. Lengthening of vowels is another important feature of Haryani which is also found in the works of Old Urdu writers. A few examples are: cākh for cakh 'taste (imp.)' kāl for kal 'yesterday' in Khālīq Bārī (pp. 68, 75), jāgah for jagah 'place' in Karbāl Kathā (p.66) bagāl for bagal 'side' in 'Āshūr Nāma (p.42.) rākh for rakh in Divān-e-Faiz (p.223) etc.

3. The nasalization of vowels in Old Urdu is also due to the impact of the Haryani dialect on it. The instances are tu for tu 'thou' in Khālīq Bārī (p.68), ā̃ for aa 'from', kū̃ for ku 'to' in Bikāt Kahānī (pp. 42,44), nissā̃ for nissā 'woman', kū̃c for kūc 'march' in 'Āshūr Nāma (pp.53,81) etc. Nasalization of vowels also feature in Divānī-e-Faiz and Karbāl Kathā which were written during the first quarter of the 18th century.

4. The loss of aspiration is also one of the phonological features of Haryani which has has deeply influenced

the pronunciation of Old Urdu. Almost in every Old Urdu text, we find certain words with loss of aspiration. For example, we have mai for maih 'me' in Bikat Kahani (p.51); sāi for sāth 'with' in Do Qadim Masnaviyan (p. 114), bī for bhī 'also' in Divani-e-Faiz (p.235); sāi for sāih 'evening' in Karbal Katha (p.171) etc.

(b) Grammatical:

1. In Haryani the for^m ne is used with agentive and dative cases both. The use of ne with these cases is also found in abundance in Old Urdu of the Deccan. The use of ne with dative case is very rare in North Indian Urdu. An example from a Deccani text, Sub Ras (p.31) is admi burā ache to sarāb ne kyā karnā.

2. In Haryani⁶⁶ the plural is formed by suffixing /-ā/ to the noun. In Old Urdu too we find the forms like /dhūnā pl. of dhūn 'sunshine' in Bikat Kahani (p.61), logā pl. of log 'people' in Do Qadim Masnaviyan (p.135); latā pl. of lat 'lock of hair', bātā pl. of bāt 'talk', kapolā pl. of kapol 'cheek' in Divan-e-Faiz (pp.241,249); ghāvā pl. of ghāv 'wound', ūtā pl. of ūt 'camel' in Karbal Katha (pp. 113,218); moninā pl. of monin 'Muslim' in Marasi-e-Bekhta (n.4)

66. In Modern Haryani /-a/ or /-ya/ is added only in the oblique case, such as:

	Direct	Oblique
ghora 'horse', Sg.	ghora	ghor-e
Pl.	ghor-e	ghor-ya
ghar 'house' Sg.	ghar	ghar
Pl.	ghar	ghar-a

(Jag Deva Singh, A Descriptive Grammar of Bangru (Kurukshetra, 1970), p.38)

3. In Haryani the verbal form is ae kar 'having come' instead of ā kar. On the pattern of Haryani we have khāe kar 'having eaten' in Ashur Nama (p.151), jāe kar 'having gone' in Do Qadim Masnawiyān (p. 128). Such examples are predominantly found in Do Qadim Masnawiyān. In other works this verbal form is very rare and the standard form ā kar is very common.

4. In Haryani the past indefinite tense is formed by adding /-yā/ to the verbal roots ending with consonants. This is also one of the most important features of Old Urdu of the Deccan. It is quite rare in the works produced in North India. But in Do Qadim Masnawiyān the occurrences of such forms are numerous. The examples are kahyā 'said' (p.105), bolyā 'said' (p. 116), uthyā 'got up' (p.117) torayā 'plucked' (p.157) etc.

5. The pronouns like ham 'we', hamā 'us', yā 'this', jo, jis 'who', tū 'thou', tum 'you', maī 'I', merā, merī 'my' etc. are common in Haryani and Old Urdu both.

Besides Haryani, the dialect by which Urdu was influenced in the beginning is Braj Bhasa. Its impact on Urdu was so profound that the scholar like Khan-e-Arzu (1689-1756) gave preference to Braj Bhasa on Haryani in his Mawadhir-ul-Aliya⁶⁷ while making corrections in Gheraib-ul-Lughat of Mir 'Abdul Kase' Hansvi.

67. Edited by Dr. Syed Abdullah (Karachi, 1951).

Owing to its importance, Muhammad Husain Azad (1830-1910) pointed out that Urdu originated from Braj Bhāṣā ⁶⁸ Today this view has been totally rejected. The study of the grammatical systems of Urdu and Braj shows that both of them have developed on different lines and have followed different patterns. It is true that Urdu neither originated from Braj Bhāṣā nor was based on it, but the fact cannot be denied that Urdu in the course of its development, was much influenced by Braj Bhāṣā mainly during the period of Sikandar Lodhi and Shahjahan when Agra had been the capital of India.

It is due to the importance and popularity of Braj Bhasa that Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) wrote sometimes in the mixture of Braj and sometimes in the pure Braj Bhāṣā. Besides Khusrau Braj was also employed by poets like Kamadeva (1328-1408) and Kabir (1440-1515). Certain elements of Braj are also found in the poetry of Guru Nanak (1469-1539).

In the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) when the capital was in Agra, Urdu came in direct contact with Braj Bhāṣā, the proper language of the area. During this period it enjoyed the status of the highly cultivated literary language of North India. Agra had main attraction not only for poets who were writing in the tradition of Braj, but also for musicians. 'Abd-ur-Rahim Khān Khāna (1553-1626) was the famous poet of Braj Bhāṣā in the 68. Ab-e-Hayat (Calcutta, 1967), p. 13.

court of Akbar.⁶⁹ Akbar is also supposed to have written couplets in Braj.⁷⁰ Besides Mathura, Agra and their neighbouring areas, Braj Bhāṣā was also popular in Delhi area as has Khan the famous poet of Braj belonged to Delhi.

In the beginning the vocabulary of the Muslims had been enormously enriched from Arabic and Persian, but at the later stage when the capital shifted to Agra, Sanskrit elements began to intrude into Urdu due to the influence of Braj Bhāṣā. Being a highly literary language, it was profoundly influenced by Sanskrit.

In 1647, during the reign of Shahjahan (1627-1658), the capital was reshifted from Agra to Delhi. It does not mean that Braj Bhāṣā ceased to influence Urdu. During this period the people from different walks of life, including poets were leaving Agra for Delhi. It still enjoyed the high position in the court and was very popular in the literary circles of Delhi. But gradually and slowly the influence of Braj Bhasa was dimmed, especially during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707).

Though the structure of Urdu is different from that of Braj Bhāṣā, this dialect has played a vital role during the course of the development of Urdu. It gave numerous idioms and phrases to Urdu. According to Prof. Masud Husain Khan it helped determine the standardised tone and pronunciation of Urdu. For example paisā 'money', hai 'I' hai 'is' etc. are

69. Chandra Bali Pande, Mughal Bādshāhōnki Hindī, 1st ed. (Kasi) p.20.

70. Ibid., p. 15.

Braj forms and are also used in standard Urdu whereas their counterparts pesā, mē, he are found in Kharī Bolī and were never adopted by standard Urdu.⁷¹

Some of the linguistic influences of Braj Bhāṣā on Urdu are discussed below :-

(a) Phonological :⁷²

1. In Braj Bhāṣa /y/ is changed into /j/. Urdu also follows the same pattern, e.g.,

yatna > jatan 'care' (BK - 37)

2. The Sanskrit /ṇ/ becomes /n/ in Braj. In Urdu also we have /n/ in the place of /ṇ/ e.g.,

darpana > darpan 'mirror' (DF - 198)

carana > caran 'foot' (DF - 229)

raṇa > ran 'battle' (AK - 114)

3. In Braj /v/ is changed into /b/. This feature is also found in Urdu, e.g.,

viraha > birah 'separation' (BK - 37)

vana > ban 'forest' (DF - 214)

vacana > bacan 'word' (AN - 57)

71. Masud Husain Khan, Muqaddama-e-Tārīkh-e-Zabān-e-Urdū, p. 193.

72. Genda Lal Sharma, Braj Bhāṣā aur Kharī Bolī ke Vyākaraṇa ke tulanātamak Adhyāyan, 1st ed. (Meerut, 1965), pp. 183-85.

4. In Braj /l/ is changed into /r/. In Bikaṭ Kahānī we have a number of words in which /l/ is changed into /r/.

A few examples are

bādal	>	bādar	'cloud'	(BK - 38)
kālī	>	kārī	'black'	(BK - 37)
holī	>	horī	'holi (festival)'	(BK - 57)
jalnā	>	jare	'to burn'	(BK - 57)

5. The sounds /ś/, /ṣ/ and /s/ are changed into one sound i.e. /s/ in Braj Bhāṣā. This also happens in Urdu.

Examples are:-

sandēśa	>	sadesa	'message'	(BK - 41)
pradeśa	>	pardes	'foreign country'	(BK - 41)
doṣa	>	dos	'blame'	(BK - 49)

6. The consonant clusters of Sanskrit words are broken in Braj Bhaṣa and Urdu both, e.g.

mitra	>	mīt	'friend'	(BK - 57)
prema	>	pem	'love'	(BK - 58)
kṣetra	>	khet	'field'	(AN - 85)
dugdha	>	dūdh	'milk'	(DF - 234)

(b) Grammatical⁷³

1. In Braj the plural is formed by suffixing /-n/ to the noun. On the same pattern we get the words like paṇan 'feet' in Bikaṭ Kahānī (pp. 41, 49, 67), ākhan 'eyes' in Qissa-e-Mehraṭroz-o-Dibar (p.30.) etc.

73. Ibid., pp. 202-22.

2. The pronoun haū 'I' which is peculiar to Braj is also found in Bikat Kahani (p.64). Other pronouns of Braj Bhāṣā such as me 'me', nehe 'to me', taī 'thou', thāre 'your', haman 'we', tumri 'your' also occur in Bikat Kahani, Ashur Nama, Do Qadim Masnaviyān, Karbal Katha etc.

3. The present indefinite tense in Braj is formed by suffixing /-at/ to the root. Such examples are numerous in Bikat Kahani. A few of them are: sulgaṭ 'burns without flame' (p.33), karat 'does' (p.33), nikat 'comes out' (p.43), phirat 'wanders' (p.55), jalat 'burns' (p.61), calat 'blows' (p.61) etc.

Like Haryanī, Pharī Bolī, as opposed to Braj Bhāṣā, is the dialect of /-ā/ ending. It is one of the dialects of Delhi area and is located in the north-eastern side of Delhi, across the river Yamuna. It is spoken mainly in the districts of Meerut, Saharanpur, Muzaffar Nagar, Rampur, Moradabad and Bijnore. It is surrounded, in the west, by Haryanī and in the south-eastern side, by Braj Bhāṣā. George A. Grierson (1851-1941) calls it Hindostani.⁷⁴ Old Urdu was based on Haryanī dialect. The linguistic features of Haryanī were shared by Old Urdu when it was in the process of making. The elements of grammar, roots, affixes and words of Pharī Bolī supplied the bases on which the structure of standard Urdu had been built up.

74. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. II, Pt. I. p.42.

Khari Boli is as old as Haryani. Its oldest features can be seen in the literary specimens of the late Apabhramśa period.⁷⁵

By the time Muslims came to Delhi, Khari Boli, like other dialects of Delhi area, emerged as a separate dialect with its linguistic features fully developed when mixed with Haryani, another dialect of Delhi area. It was called "Dehlawī", by Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) and differt^{en}iated by him f^or^m "Lahori" which is another name for Panjabi. Shaikh Bahauddin Bajan (d.1506) called the same language as "Zabān-e-Dehlawī."

In the beginning Khari Boli developed, in the form of Urdu through the poetry of Amīr Khusrau and the religious discourses of the Muslim Sufis. It was carried to different parts of the country by army-men, traders and by the people belonging to other walks of life. It was also employed, alongwith Panjabi, Braj Bhāṣā and Awadhi, by the poets like Namadava, Kabirdasa and Guru Nanak.

When the capital was shifted from Delhi to Agra, Urdu lost its contact with Khari Boli and came under the influence of Braj Bhāṣā. This situation existed till 1647 A.D. When Shahjahan reshifted the capital to Delhi. It was during this period that Urdu again came under the direct contact of Khari Boli which completely replaced Braj Bhāṣā from the literary

75. Braja Ratna Dasa, Khari Boli Hindī Sahitya kā Itihās, 2nd ed. (Varansi), pp.25-45.

scene in the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707). With the admixture of Perso-Arabic elements, Kharī Bolī, in the form of Urdu, was employed during the 17th century by poets like Afzal (d. 1625) Chandra Bhan Brahman (1574-1662), Shah Baratullah Feni, Raushan Ali, Ismail Anrohwi, Salah, Jurban Ali and Qasim etc. Even Mirza Muiz Muswi Fitrat, Sadullah Gulshan, Mirza Bedil, Khan-e-Arzu and some other poets of North India who were writing in the tradition of Persian, switched over to Urdu which was popularly known as Bekhta (mixed).

Mewati is also one of the important dialects of Delhi area. It is located in the south-western side of Delhi. It is spoken mainly in the districts of Alwar and Gurgaon. It is surrounded, in the North, by Haryani and, in the East, by Braj Bhāṣā. Mewati lacks in literary specimens. Except folk songs it has no other important literature worth mentioned.

Like other dialects of Delhi area Mewati has also influenced Urdu. Certain linguistic features of Mewati are shared by Old Urdu especially by the Old Urdu of the Deccan. Geographically, Mewat is not far from Delhi and its population is predominantly Muslim. Since the earlier times the Mews had established good contacts with the masses of Delhi. This resulted in the close affinity of Mewati dialect with Haryani.

It is not beyond reasoning that the so-called Panjabi elements of Old Urdu are not only the Haryani but also the Mewati elements. Some of the salient features of Mewati which are found in Old Urdu and which have been discussed by Prof. Masud Husain Khan are given below:⁷⁶

A. Plural Nouns :

SG.	Pl. Mewati	Pl. Dakni
ghorā	ghorā̃	ghorā̃

B. Pronouns:

maĩ, tū, mujh, mere, nero, tuj, tū, tere,
tero, ham, mhāre, mhāro, tam, tun, thāre,
yū, vo, vā (fem.), ap etc.
kaun, jin, kin, jo, jaun, jis, is, in, us.

C. Genitives: kā, kī, ke

D. Verbs:

The characteristic feature of Mewati regarding the verb is that it uses the auxiliaries like hai, sū, sī for hai 'is', hū 'am' hai 'are' respectively, e.g.

maĩ sū 'I am'
ham sī 'we are' etc.

From the phonological point of view, unlike Braj Bhāṣā, Mewati shares almost all the features which are found in Haryani and Kharī Bolī, for instance, the use of geminated words, the preference of /d/ to /r/ and /dh/ to /rh/ etc. These are also the common features of Dakni.

76. Musaddas-e-Tarikh-e-Zaban-e-Urdū, pp. 253-54.

CHAPTER 4

VOCABULARY OF URDU

As the basic structure of Urdu is purely Indo-Aryan, its vocabulary is also largely of Indo-Aryan Origin. A large number of Urdu words come from the Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit and Apabhramśa). Pure Sanskrit words have also been used in Urdu from the time of its inception. The vocabulary of Urdu also includes a number of Desi (country born) words. It has also borrowed words from other Modern Indo-Aryan languages such as Panjabi, Marathi, Gujrati etc. Numerous words in Urdu also come from the dialects of Western and Eastern Hindi. In Dakani Urdu there is a small number of words from Dravidian languages, especially from Kannar and Telgu which influenced Urdu in the areas like Bijapur, Gulbarga and Gol Kunda.

Apart from these sources, Urdu has also borrowed a considerable amount of its vocabulary from Persian and Arabic. The Perso-Arabic words form the most important part of the Urdu vocabulary. The process of borrowing from these languages started at an early stage of the development of Urdu. During the process of its development, Urdu not only borrowed a large quantity of words from these languages but also from Turkish which was once the language of the ruling class in India.⁷⁷

77. Akmal Ayubi, "Urdu par Turkī Zabān ke Asarāt", Tahrir (Delhi, January - March 1971), pp. 53-64.

The words in Urdu can be classified into the following main groups:-

1. Tatsama words
2. Tadbhava words
3. Desi or Desaja words
4. Perso-Arabic and Turkish words

1. Tatsama words

The word "tatsama" means the same as it i.e. Sanskrit. Sanskrit words when they are used in their original forms are called tatsama. There are a number of tatsama words which are used in Urdu in exactly the same form as they were used in Sanskrit, e.g., sundar, 'beautiful', gyān 'knowledge', jal 'water', man 'heart' etc. Tatsamas consist of pure Sanskrit words. They were originally inherited from OIA, but were not phonetically modified in MIA, since in their sounds they were not against the genius of the speech in the MIA stage.⁷⁸ The only change which the tatsama words have undergone is that in pronunciation the final /-ah/ and /-am/ of Sanskrit masculine and neuter are rejected.⁷⁹ The Sanskrit rājāh and darśanam become in Urdu rājā and darsan.

78. S.K. Chatterji, The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Vol. I, p. 189.

79. John Beams, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, p. 12.

Old Urdu texts abound in tatsama words. Throughout the Old Urdu period tatsama words were used freely. These words came to be used in Urdu from the very beginning. In Dakani texts the number of tatsama words is relatively high. In later periods the use of such words was minimised and pure Sanskrit words were replaced gradually by the words of Perso-Arabic origin and tadbhava words. Towards the middle of 18th century a large number of tatsama and tadbhava words were discarded by the poets under the influence of the reformative movement led by Mirza Asghar Jan Jahan (1700-1781).

Dr. Shri Ram Sharma has assigned two main reasons for the excessive use of tatsama words during the Old Urdu period. First, the Sūfis who preached at the time of the development of Urdu were familiar with the Vedānta and Indian philosophy. They endeavoured to synthesise the Islamic thinking and Indian philosophy. In their effort to achieve this synthesis, they used with certain modifications, the same philosophical terminologies as used by the Indian philosophers. That is why there is an excessive use of pure Sanskrit words in the writings of these Sufi authors. The second reason is that even the reputed poets of Dakani were familiar with the Sanskrit classics. The awareness gave them a large number of Sanskrit vocabulary which can be seen in their works.⁸⁰

80. Shri Ram Sharma, Dakṣiṇī Hīndī kā Udbhava aur Vikas, 1st. ed. (Prayag) p. 131.

Dr. Sharma has given a long list of tatsama words which occur in Dakani authors. A few of them are mentioned here.

1. Khwaja Banda Nawaz: jīvan 'life', jīv 'soul, spirit', etc.

----- Meraaj-ul-Ashiqin

2. Burhan-ud-Din Janan : bālak 'boy', sansār 'world', sevak 'servant', gyān 'knowledge', bhed 'mystery', dayā 'mercy', jal 'water', pūjā 'worship', krodh 'wrath' etc.

----- Irshad Nama.

3. Ali Adil Shah Sani : adhar 'lip', gai 'elephant' gagan 'sky', khand 'part', rūp 'form' etc.

----- Mulliyat-e-Ali Adil Shah

4. Ibn-e-Nishati : bhār 'burden', nīr 'water', mukh 'face', nirmal 'clean', jagat 'world', sundar 'beautiful' etc.

----- Phul Ban

5. Qazi Mahmud Bahri : gyān 'knowledge', ant 'end' bal 'power', strength', samācār 'news', gupt 'hidden', rogi 'patient', etc.

----- Man Lagan

A considerable amount of tatsama words is also found in the texts written in the north. In Āshūr Nama, Arāsī-e-Rekhta and Karbāl Kathā which describe the tragedy of Karbala, the authors employ the minimum number of tatsama words. In

these works the Perso-Arabic words are relatively great in number. The secular works like Bikat Kahānī, Dīvan-e-Fāiz and Diwan-e-Mahrafruz-e-Dilbar make the maximum use of tatsama words. Following are some of the tatsama words which occur in different authors of the north.

1. Afzal : lok 'people' (p.31), nāg 'snake' (p.31), man 'heart' (p.32) kar 'hand' (p.36), kathin 'difficult' (p.37) deh 'body' (p.39), sukh 'joy, relief' (p.39) mukh 'mouth' (p.41) jiv 'soul, spirit' (p.44), kathā 'story' (p.47) rūp 'form' (p.55), mās 'month' (p.62) etc.

----- Bikat Kahānī

2. Raushan Ali : nayan 'eye' (p.37) mukh 'face' (p.37) adik 'more' (p.41), bhed 'mystery' gyān 'knowledge' (p.55), nir 'water' (p.61), jagat 'world' (p.93) etc.

----- 'Ashūr Nāma

3. Ismail Anrohi : sansār 'world' (p.103), mukh 'face' (p.113), jīv 'soul' (p.118), tān 'fever' (p.122), bhār 'weight' (p.149), ant 'end' (p.150), das 'servant' 'servant' (p.153), ānand 'pleasure' (p.156) phal 'fruit' (p.158) etc.

----- Do Qadīm Masnaviyān

4. Faiz Dehlawi : mukh 'face' (p.198), jal 'water' (p.199), jīv 'soul' (p.200), kapol 'cheek' (p.203), man 'heart' (p.204), prīt 'love' (p.223), sundar 'beautiful' (p.230),

bhavan 'home' (p.239), sevā 'service' (p.239), adhar 'lip' (p.241), adhik 'more' (p.245), pāp 'sin' (p.246), kathin 'difficult' (p.247), jal 'water' (p.248) etc.

----- Diwān-e-Fāiz

5. Fazlī : bālak 'boy' (p.187), kanth 'throat' (p.188) bhed 'secret' (p.43), jīy 'soul' (p.51) etc.

6. 'Iswī Khān Bahādur : sachan 'dense, thick' (p.5), upmā 'comparison' (p.36), krānti 'lustre' (p.42), ang 'body' (p.43), samay 'time' (p.45) sugandh 'fragrance' (p.46), samāh 'crowd' (p.46), adhik 'more' (p.46), samudr 'ocean' (p.72), payan 'breeze' (p.177) mand 'slow' (p.112), sāgar 'sea' (p.113), hit 'welfare' (p.46), hatya 'murder' (p.155), sabha 'assembly' (p.197), jīy 'soul' (p.212).

----- Gissa-e-Mehrafroz-o-Dilbar

2. Tadbhava Words

Sanskrit words when they are used in a modified form are called tadbhava. Tadbhava words, though evidently derived from Sanskrit, have been considerably changed in the process, though not so much so as to obscure their origin.⁸¹

Urdu has a large quantity of words derived from Sanskrit or CIA which have undergone a natural modification through the

81. John Beames, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, p.12.

period of MIA. The examples of tadbhava words in Urdu are kām from Sk. karma 'task', dūdh from Sk. dugdha 'milk' nāc from Sk. nrtya 'dance', ghorā from Sk. ghotaka 'horse' etc. For its vocabulary, Urdu heavily depends on MIA. That is why the number of tadbhava words in Urdu is greater than that of tatsama words. Urdu has picked up a large percentage of words from MIA — Prakrit and Apabhramsa. The vocabulary of Urdu was predominately Aryan till the age of Hatim when the poets and scholars discarded and replaced most of the existing vocabulary with words of Perso-Arabic origin. The main lines of development along which the pure Sanskrit words have changed into tadbhava words are given below:-

(a) Vowels

Short vowels of Sanskrit become long vowels e.g.,

1. a > ā :

- Sk. karma > Pr. karma > Ur. kām 'deed'
 Sk. sapta > Pr. satta > Ur. sāt 'seven'
 Sk. hasta > Pr. hattha > Ur. hāth 'hand'
 Sk. adya > Pr. ajja > Ur. āj 'today'

2. i > ī :

- Sk. bhikṣa > Pr. bhikkha > Ur. bhīk 'alms'
 Sk. śikṣa > Pr. sikkha > Ur. sīkh 'learn'
 Sk. jihvā > Pr. jibbha > Ur. jīb, jīb 'tongue'